ARCHAEOLOGIA:

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MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

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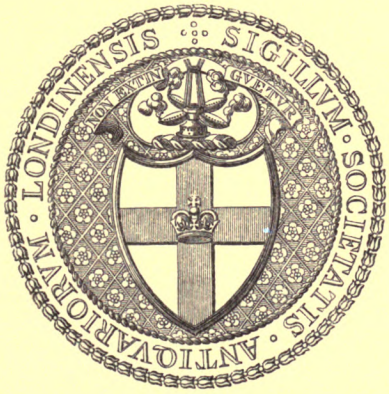

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M.DCCC.LV.

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

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Read June 1st, 1854.

MY LORD, Oxford, June 1, 1854.

IN my last letter I carried the account of my architectural Tour in the English provinces of France as far as Bordeaux; the following year I made this my starting point, and traversed the length of the ancient province of Guienne, which it is hardly necessary to observe is a long and rather narrow strip across the south of France, extending from Bordeaux in the west, nearly to Lyons in the east, leaving Gascony and Languedoc in the south, and other smaller provinces to the north. I have paid no attention to the modern division of the country into departments, it not being material to my purpose; and my rapid passage from one department to another would have caused great confusion in describing my route.

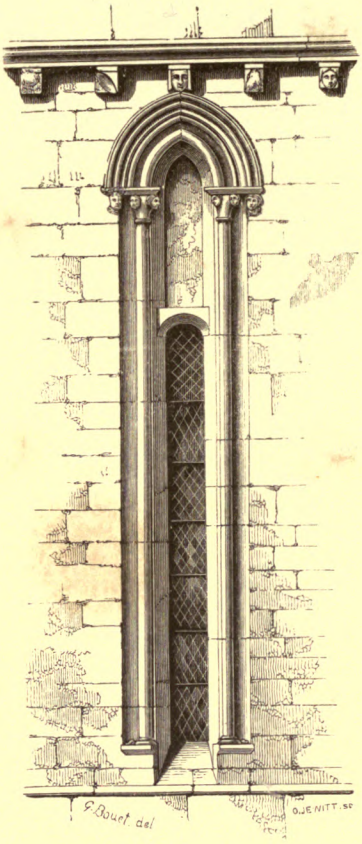
As I could not learn that there are any buildings of importance for my purpose in the immediate neighbourhood of Bordeaux in this direction, I took advantage of the steamboat on the Garonne as far as LANGON, where the road to the Pyrenees branches off. The church here is modern, but in good imitation of Gothic work; the tower is of the end of the twelfth century, with a belfry story added in the sixteenth. At a short distance, it bears some resemblance to our Anglo-Saxon towers, but on a closer inspection the resemblance is not borne out; nor have I ever been able to find in France any tower of that character; and, as my observations have extended over a large part of France, and I have also made frequent inquiries of the best informed French antiquaries on the subject, I think I may safely aver that there are no towers of that type in France, which is strong pre-

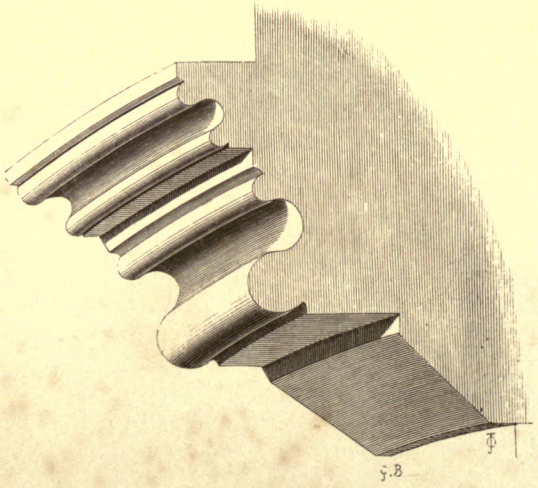
sumptive evidence that they are really Saxon. On the opposite side of the river, which is here passed by a suspension bridge, is the ruined town of St. Macaire, in which is a fine Church of mixed styles, but chiefly of the twelfth century. It is said to have been founded in the year 1048, but no part of the present structure appears to be so early. The plan is a latin cross with the east end and the two transepts rounded, forming three apses, each with a semi-dome vault, and the central compartment is vaulted by a cupola; the first bay of the nave is of the same character, the other three bays are successively later, the first of the thirteenth, the second of the fourteenth, and the third of the fifteenth century; but the west end, with a fine doorway, is of the thirteenth, and the whole of the lower parts of the walls belong to the early work: attached to the first bay on the north side is a tower of the fourteenth century, hexagonal in plan. The walls have been raised throughout, but not all at the same period. The exterior of the east end with its three apses is a fine specimen of the Romanesque style with a semi-Byzantine character. The northern apse is different from the other two, and shews a change of plan during the progress of the work, this apse having the walls originally four feet higher than the other two, which have been raised to correspond with it: the work is also richer than in the earlier part. The corbel table and cornice are very good and effective, the latter enriched with a triple row of the billet ornament; the buttresses are rounded into half pillars, and in the upper part have shafts added on, with good bases and sculptured capitals. In the face, near the tower, a square-headed window of the fourteenth century has been inserted, with good mouldings in the head and jambs.

In the interior the walls are covered with arcades, and vaulting shafts, which have good capitals, and bases of a style resembling our Norman; these shafts, being arranged in groups of five, afford scope for a fine series of bases; the ribs of the vaults are enriched with a row of balls resembling our ball-flower, though here occurring in works of the transitional period. The vaults are covered with paintings of the fourteenth century, very curious; they have been restored, but carefully.

The western doorway is good Early French work, with a trefoil opening in the head; this and the arch are filled with sculptures, but much mutilated. The wooden door and its ironwork are original.

The town is in a very decayed state. The market-place is irregular in plan, almost oblong; the houses are for the most part in ruins, but the arcade or piazza on which they are built, is nearly entire; some of the arches are pointed, others are round, but they are nearly all of the Flamboyant or Renaissance styles. There are





WINDOW FROM THE CHURCH OF THE MERCADEL AT BAZAS,

WITH THE ARCH-MOULDINGS.

several old houses in other parts of the town, one of which appears to be of the fourteenth century, with a good window of that period.

A few miles from Langon is the town of BAZAS, the cathedral of which is deserving of more attention than it has received. It is of mixed styles, but chiefly of the thirteenth century. The plan is oblong, with aisles and an apse, no distinction between the nave and choir, but the apse is surrounded by an aisle and chapels, and there are low chapels between the buttresses of the nave. The work seems to have been carried on for a long period; part is late in the thirteenth, and another part early in the fourteenth century; but it has been a good deal modernized in the seventeenth, and the date of 1675 is painted on a base at the east end. The west front is very fine and rich, the arches and tympanums fitted with sculpture, among which are the signs of the zodiac, with the operations of each month corresponding.[a] But four large paneled buttresses have been introduced in the seventeenth century, and two of the months are destroyed.

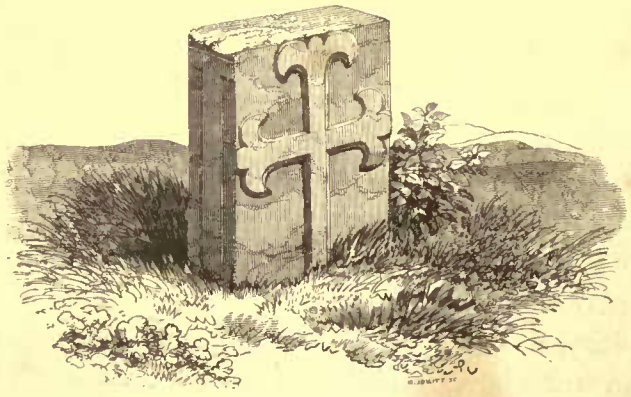
The nave has the pillars chiefly rebuilt or refaced after the mutilation by the Huguenots, and the vault is also modern, but the side walls with the shafts attached, and the vaults of the aisles are original, with some of the windows. In the north aisle is a tomb of the end of the twelfth century, with a canopy, on which are some curious incipient crockets, the earliest that I remember to have met with. The rest of the work is chiefly of the Flamboyant style. The tower which stands on the north side of the west front is a fine specimen of that style, with a rich crocketed spire, and there is a good Flamboyant round window in the west front. The upper part of the front is, however, modernized.

At the opposite end of the market-place is the shell of a good small church in the early French style, with a series of very long lancet windows, having fine mouldings, and a corbel table. It is called the church of the Mercadel, or little market. The windows have very tall shafts, with good capitals of foliage and the square abacus. Nothing certain appears to be known about the history of the church, or of the structure of the cathedral, which was founded at a very early period, and was formerly much more important than it is at present, the bishopric being now united to that of Bordeaux. The market-place of Bazas is of an irregular form, arising from the nature of the ground on the top of a hill; the houses are built on an arcade or piazza, some of the arches of which appear to be early, but none of the houses are earlier than Flamboyant. One corner house is a good specimen of the French houses in towns of the fifteenth or sixteenth cen-

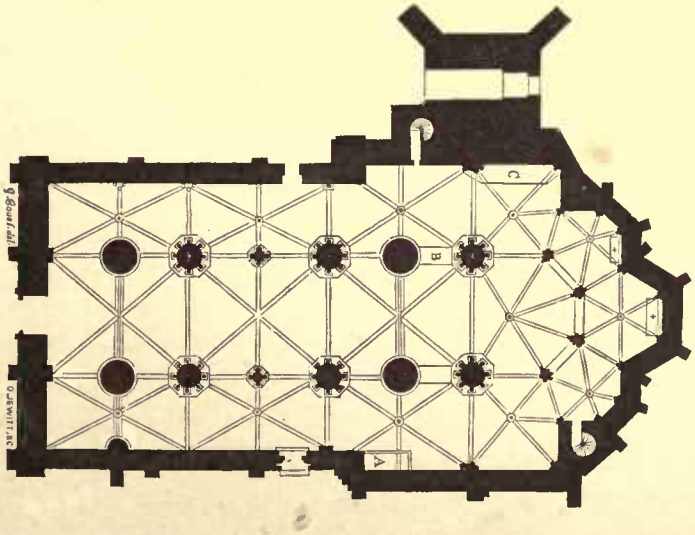
[a] This Calendar of the Seasons has attracted a good deal of attention among the French antiquaries, and engravings of it have been published.

tury in this part of France; the lower windows have canopies over them with crockets, finials, and pinnacles; the upper windows are enriched with paneling. Portions of the old walls of the town remain, but they are not very early nor remarkable.

A few miles from Langon, in another direction, is the pretty little church of UZESTE, chiefly remarkable as the burial place of Pope Clement the Fifth, whose tomb still stands in the south aisle; the effigy is of white marble, placed upon an altar tomb of black marble, with an inscription round the edge, in which he is called the Founder of the Church, although it is evident that he only partially rebuilt it. The choir with its apse and aisles is his work, and as he died in 1314, this gives us a valuable dated example of the early Decorated style. The style of the work is almost identical with that of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, although its date is fifty years later. It is evident, indeed, that the style of that chapel was considerably in advance of other buildings in France of the same period, and that style usually belongs to quite the end of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century, the highest period of Gothic architecture. The plan of Uzeste is rather peculiar, the choir being wider than the nave, but it is also considerably higher, and it is evident that the intention was to have rebuilt the nave also. The arms of the Pope are cut in the stone of parts of the work which he built. The style of the work, especially the windows, with foliated circles in the head, is similar to what was in use in England about 1260, as in the chapter-house at Salisbury. In the north-east chapel is a good sepulchral arch, with a tall pyramid over it, well moulded and crocketed, with a trefoil in the head, and capitals of Decorated foliage. This appears to have been the Easter sepulchre or Calvaire; near it is a small altar of solid stone, which appears to be original. The tower stands at the north side of the choir, and is good Flamboyant work, with a rich crocketed spire; the parapets and other parts are ornamented in the manner usual in that style. The choir has fine flying buttresses, resembling the Early French style, but the open parapet round the apse is quite Decorated. In the churchyard is a good Decorated headstone with a cross.



HEADSTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, UZESTE.

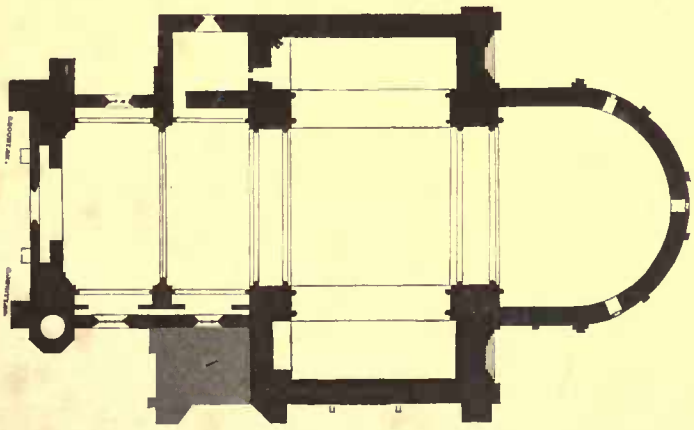


PART OF THE CHOIR AND PLAN OF THE CHURCH AT UZESTE, A.D. 1314.

Near Uzeste are the remains of the castle of VILLANDRAUT, the residence of Pope Clement the Fifth, who also built it. The walls are nearly perfect, and it is a fine military fortress and a dwelling house combined. The plan is very regular; a square with buildings on all sides of it, and a large round tower at each angle; also two other round towers to protect the entrance, which is on the south side. The buildings are all three stories high, with two external staircases, one in the south-east angle, the other in the north-east, both opening from the court-yard. The towers all have vaulted chambers in the lower part, and round staircases. On a boss of one of the vaults a small group of figures is carved, representing the consecration of the Pope; two bishops are putting the tiara on his head. But the work in general is extremely plain. There is scarcely a vestige of ornament of any kind; the roofs are all destroyed. The moat is perfect and deep, and there are the grooves of two portcullises, and marks of the drawbridge. It is remarkable that all the palaces of the Popes in France are very strongly fortified, as is the case at Avignon, even though it is within the walls of a strongly fortified town.

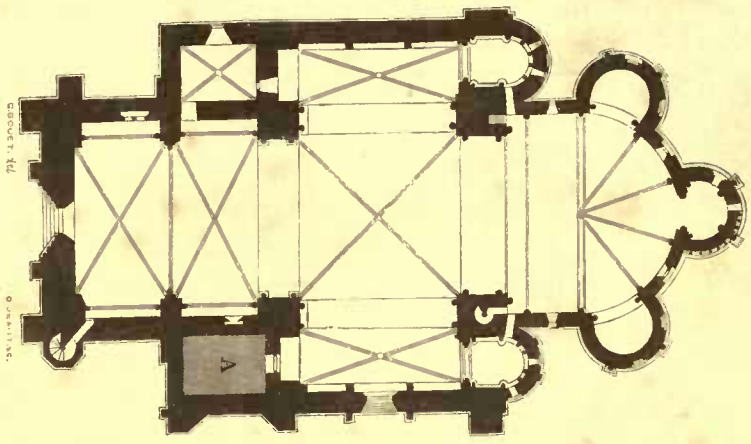
AGEN.—*Aginnum.*

My next stopping place on the Garonne was at the curious and interesting old town of Agen. The cathedral here was destroyed in the great Revolution; its place is now supplied by the fine Romanesque church of St. Caprais, which has been carefully repaired, but the original plan, and a great deal of the old work, has been preserved. The character of the work partakes a good deal of the Byzantine style, as I have had occasion to observe in several instances in this district. The ground plan is remarkable: it is almost a Greek cross, with an apse and apsidal chapels; these are low, and are lost in the plan of the upper story. The four main arches are pointed but plain, and carried on very massive piers, which



PLAN OF UPPER STORY, S. CAPRAIS.

reminded me very much of St. Front at Perigueux, and might well have carried a similar cupola, but the central compartment is vaulted over with a domical vault at the same height as the rest of the church. The attached shafts have capitals and bases of transitional character.



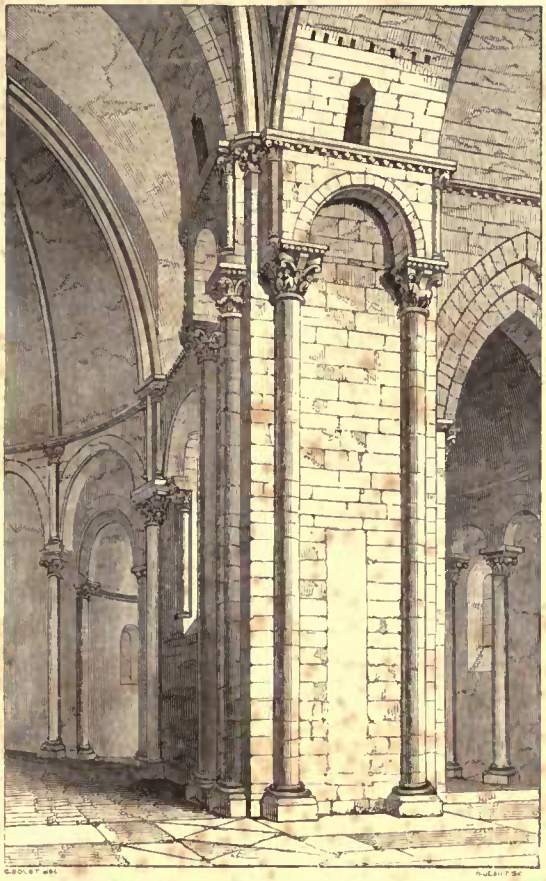
GROUND PLAN, S. CAPRAIS, AGEN. A, THE TOWER.

The arches of the triforium are enriched with early crockets, and the corbels of the vaulting-shafts are fine specimens of early French work. The mouldings shew the transitional character of the original parts of the work, the date of which must be near the end of the twelfth century.[a] The windows are filled with modern painted glass, of glaring colours and in bad taste; there is also modern painting on the walls of the chapels.

The church of St. Foi is a plain, brick building, partly of the twelfth century, with additions of the sixteenth; it has a clerestory of small round-headed windows. The small church or chapel of Notre Dame la Bonne is also of brick, of the thirteenth century, with lancet-shaped windows; the original church was a simple oblong, with a square east end, and a plain early French vault, but a Flamboyant aisle has been added. At the west end is a brick bell-cot, or gable, pierced for five bells, a singular and picturesque structure. Under this is a good early French doorway, having shafts with capitals of foliage, and the arch well moulded. This doorway, and indeed the whole chapel, has rather an English look about it. There is, or was, a somewhat similar bell-gable at Radipole, near Weymouth; it is not a very common feature either in England or France.

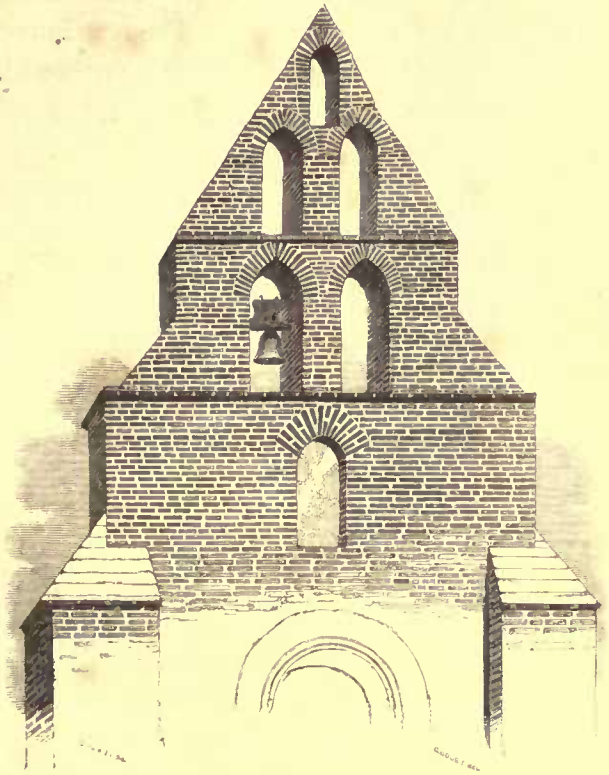
The church of the Jacobins is a plain brick building of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, on the plan usual with that order of monks, consisting of a double

[a] There is an inscription in the chôir, surrounding the sacred monogram, recording the day of dedication but not the year, II. NONAS DECEMBRIS DEDICATIO ECCLESIÆ EJUSDEM, in characters of the twelfth century.



PART OF THE CHOIR AND TRANSEPT, S. CAPRAIS, AGEN.

INSCRIPTION IN THE CHOIR, S. CAPRAIS, AGEN.



BELL GABLE, NOTRE DAME LA BONNE, AGEN.

nave only, divided by a row of arches down the centre, and no chancel. We have a few churches on the same plan in England, which probably belonged to the same order, though this has escaped observation. The two divisions of the nave have each four bays with simply early French vaults; the east end is square, with two windows in it, corresponding with the west end; these windows are of two lights trefoiled, with a quatrefoil in the head, and appear to be rather later than the walls. The ends are very wide and flat, and give the building a heavy appearance and a bad outline; at the north-east angle is an octagonal bell turret.

There are several old timber houses, the lower stories vaulted with stone, in the town of Agen. In this town the Roman fashion of building walls with layers of tiles at regular intervals, and thick beds of mortar between the tiles, and pounded brick or tile mixed with the mortar, is still continued, and appears never to have been lost, as it may be seen in the walls of the churches of different periods. The building stone of the country is very bad and scarce, which may probably account

for the continuance of the fashion in a country which the Romans so long inhabited, and which is known to have retained many of their customs, until a much later period than most other parts of Europe. The continuance of the Roman fashion of building may however be observed in many other districts, where good building materials are scarce, as at Colchester, and other parts of the eastern counties of England.

Several Roman pavements have been found in Agen and the neighbourhood. The archives of the town have been preserved, and contain some curious and interesting documents; the earliest is a licence to build a bridge, granted by Richard the First, and dated from London in 1189. Another deed of 1308 relates also to the bridge, which was of wood. There are also several treaties of alliance for mutual defence between Agen and other neighbouring towns in the thirteenth century.

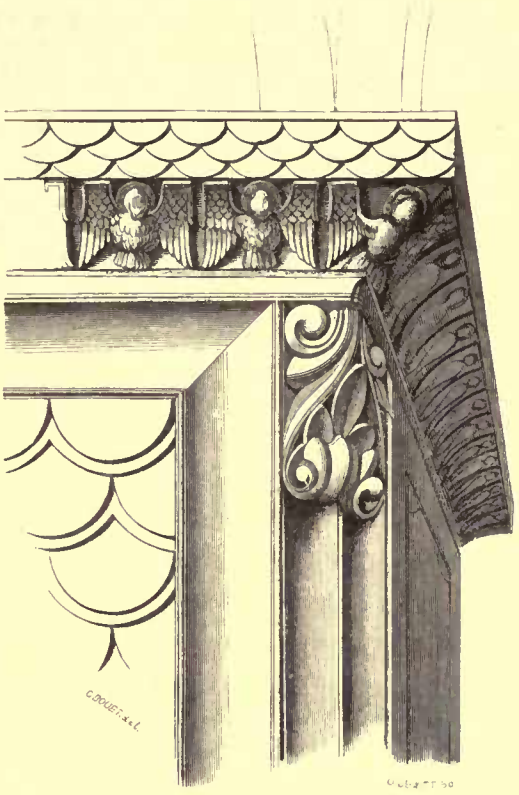
Moissac.

Between Agen and Montauban is Moissac, with its celebrated Benedictine abbey, founded in 630, destroyed by the Saracens in the eighth century, and rebuilt with great splendour in the eleventh by the abbé Durand de Bredon, and the church consecrated with great pomp in 1063, as recorded by a subsequent abbot, Aimery de Peyrac, in his chronicle, and confirmed by the Cartularies, of which five volumes are preserved in the National Library at Paris. The cloister is probably the richest and finest of its period in existence. It has no less than eighty pillars or shafts with sculptured capitals, chiefly small groups of figures, the subjects from the Old and New Testament, the Apocalypse, and some from the legends of saints, arranged in two distinct series, one a repetition of the other, each occupying two sides of the quadrangle. They include three of the events in the legend of St. Martin, and one of Gog and Magog. Each group of figures has the name in an inscription on the abacus, or on the capitals themselves; these inscriptions are in the character of the eleventh century, with small letters introduced within the larger ones.[b] At each angle and at regular intervals are square piers, ornamented

[a] I am indebted to my friend M. de Caumont for the information respecting these documents, which was supplied to him by M. Marellet, an inhabitant of the town. Full particulars will be found in the "Histoire des Departements de Lot et Garonne, par M. de St. Amans," 2 vols. 8vo. 1836.

[b] These capitals are now well known in England, from the plaster casts of them in the Architectural Museum at Westminster, and in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, copied from those in the Museum of Toulouse.

with a kind of scale-work, with figures of the Apostles, and one is the figure of



PIER IN THE CLOISTER AT MOISSAC.

St. Durand de Bredon, abbot of Moissac and bishop of Toulouse, called the second founder of the abbey, already mentioned. On one of these piers is an inscription recording the date of the cloister as built in the year 1100; yet the arches are pointed, and the whole character of the work is what with us would be transitional. If this had been an isolated case we might suppose that the arches had been rebuilt, or the inscription preserved from an earlier building, but the pointed arch occurs in many other buildings in this part of France at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, and it appears to be clearly established that the art had attained to this point at least half a century before it had done so in the North. But here it remained stationary for a century, and made no progress until the movement was communicated from the North.

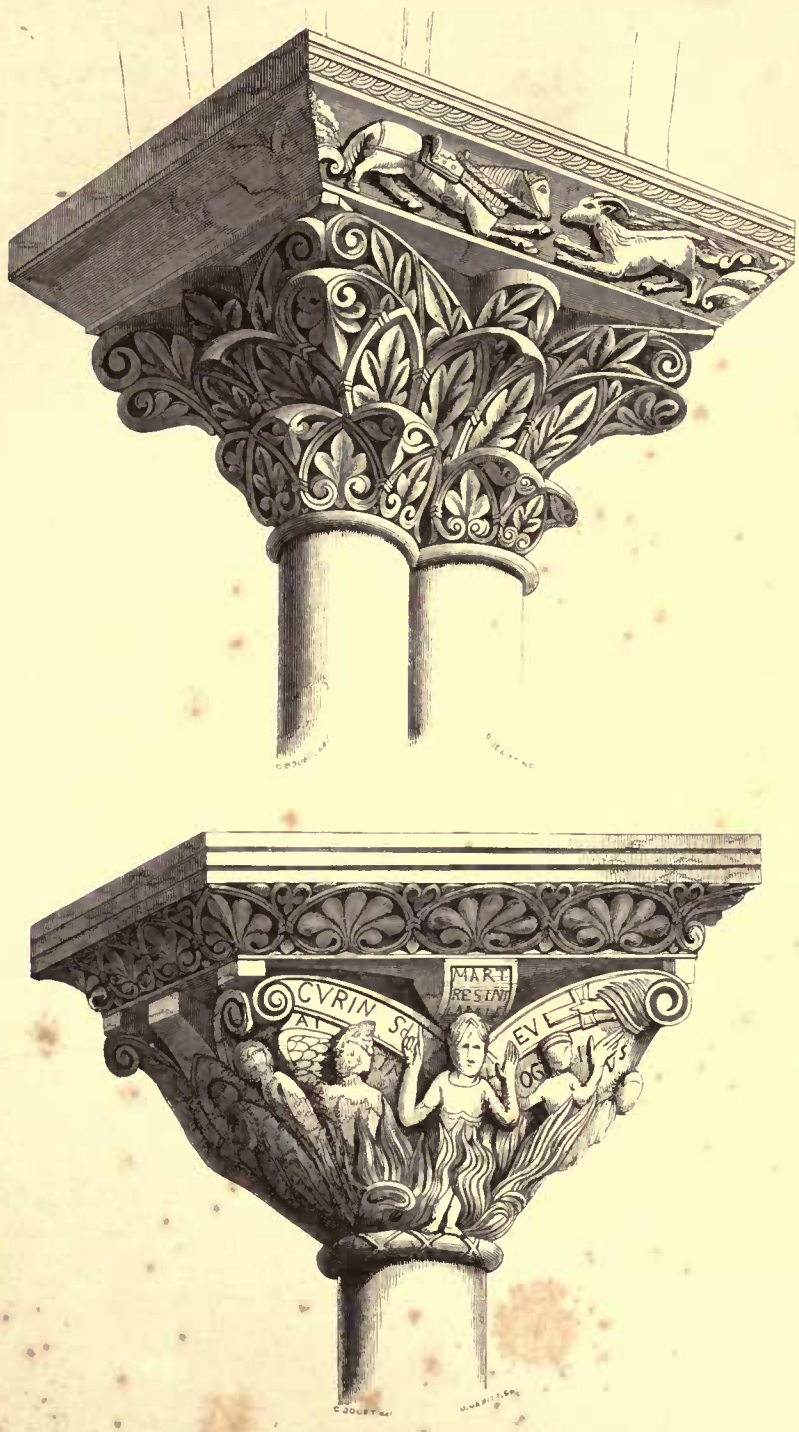
Whether this can be accounted for by the history of the country, which became attached to the English crown early in the twelfth century, or whatever the cause may have been, the fact seems to be clearly established. The sculpture of these capitals is remarkably good, and, when taken in connection with other work at Toulouse and the neighbourhood, shows that a school of sculpture was established in this part of France in the eleventh century, very much in advance of any other part of Europe at the same period. The cloister, however, does not appear to have been finished at the date of the inscription, as the contemporary documents mention it as the work of the abbot Aquilin, from 1100[a] to 1108, and his immediate successor, Roger.

The church has been much altered, or almost rebuilt, in the fifteenth century, in a fine Flamboyant style, but parts of the walls are original, and an

INSCRIPTION ON A PIER IN THE CLOISTER, MOISSAC.

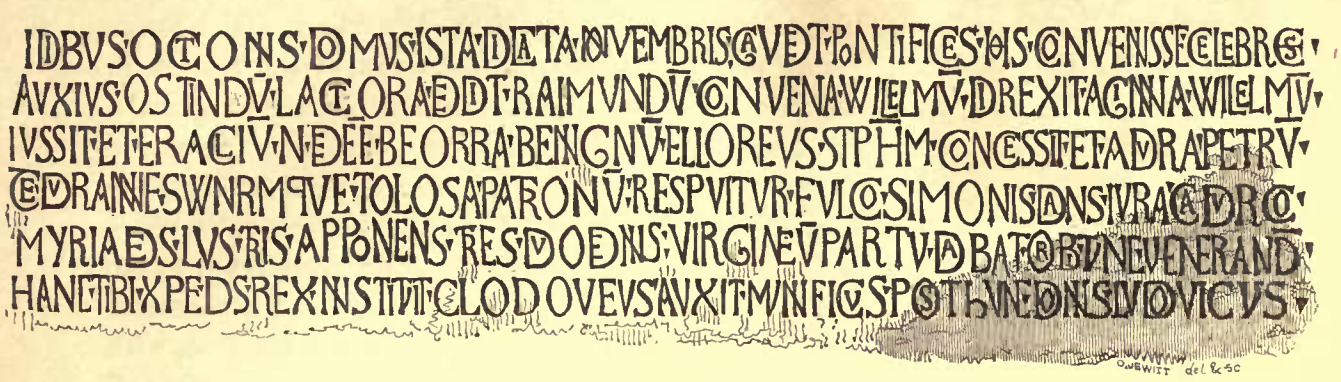
[a] The engraving is carefully reduced from a rubbing of the inscription, and exhibits the peculiar form and arrangement of letters which was prevalent at the period, so that there is little doubt that it is almost contemporary with the date inscribed upon it. The greater part is most clear, and runs thus:—"ANNO AB INCARNATIONE ÆTERNI PRINCIPIS MILESIMO CENTESIMO, FACTUM EST CLAUSTRUM ISTUD TEMPORE ANSQUITILII ABBATIS, AMEN. V.V.V.—M.D.M.—R R R.—F F F." Of these last initial letters it is difficult to determine the meaning. They have probably nothing to do with the former part of the inscription. One gentleman has interpreted them as "Venerabiles—Monachi Domus Religiosi—Fratres." Another, "Venerabili Virgini Virginum—Maria Dei Matri—Reverendissmi—Fratres." I am inclined to consider the latter as the more probable interpretation, and I think still further, as most probable, that they are the alliterations of some lines with which the monks were familiar, such as—

Virgo Virginum Veneranda (*or*—rabilis)
Mater Dei Miranda (*or*—rabilis)
Regina Regia Reginarum,
Femina Felix Feminarum (S. Luke i. 28.)



CAPITALS FROM THE CLOISTER AT MOISSAC, A.D. 1100.

inscription [a] is built into the wall of the choir, recording the consecration in 1063.



INSCRIPTION, ON THE WALL OF THE CHOIR, MOISSAC.

[a] This inscription, of which an engraving is given above, partakes of much the same character in the formation and arrangement of its letters, with that of the cloister. Whether put up at the same time or not, we have no means of ascertaining. They certainly must have been written before the middle of the twelfth century, as the fashion of inserting one letter within another then ceased. The words, so far as we can make them out, and there is little difficulty, are as follows:—

"Idibus octonis domus ista dicata Novembris
Gaudet Pontifices hos convenisse celebres:
(1) Auxius Ostindum, (2) Lactora dedit Raimundum,
(3) Convena Wilelmum, (4) direxit Aginna Wilelmum,
(5) Jussit et Heraclium, non dēesse Beorra benignum,
(6) Elloreus Stephanum concessit, (7) et Adura Petrum,
(8) Te Duranne suum nostrumque Tolosa patronum,
(9) Respuitur Fulco Sĭmŏnis dans jura Cadureo,
Myriades lustris apponens tres duodenis
Virgineum partum dabat orbi tunc venerandum,
Hanc tibi, Christe Deus, rex instituit Clodoveus,
Auxit magnificus post hunc donis Ludovicus."

Having given the time of the year when the dedication took place, the inscription proceeds to give a list of those renowned elders of the church who assembled together on the occasion. I have placed them below, in a tabular form; at the same time, the years during which they held their respective sees:—

1.	From Auch,	came	S. Austende,	1050-1068.
2.	,, Lectoure	,,	Raymond	1060-1083.
3.	,, Commınges	,,	William	1053-1063.
4.	,, Agen	,,	William	1061-1068.
5.	,, Bigorre	,,	Heraclius	1056-1069.
6.	,, Oleron	,,	Stephen	1055-1069.
7.	,, Ayre	,,	Peter	1060-1095.
8.	,, Toulouse	,,	Durand	1060-1068 (and probably later).
9.	Of Cahors	absent	Foulques	1060-1065.

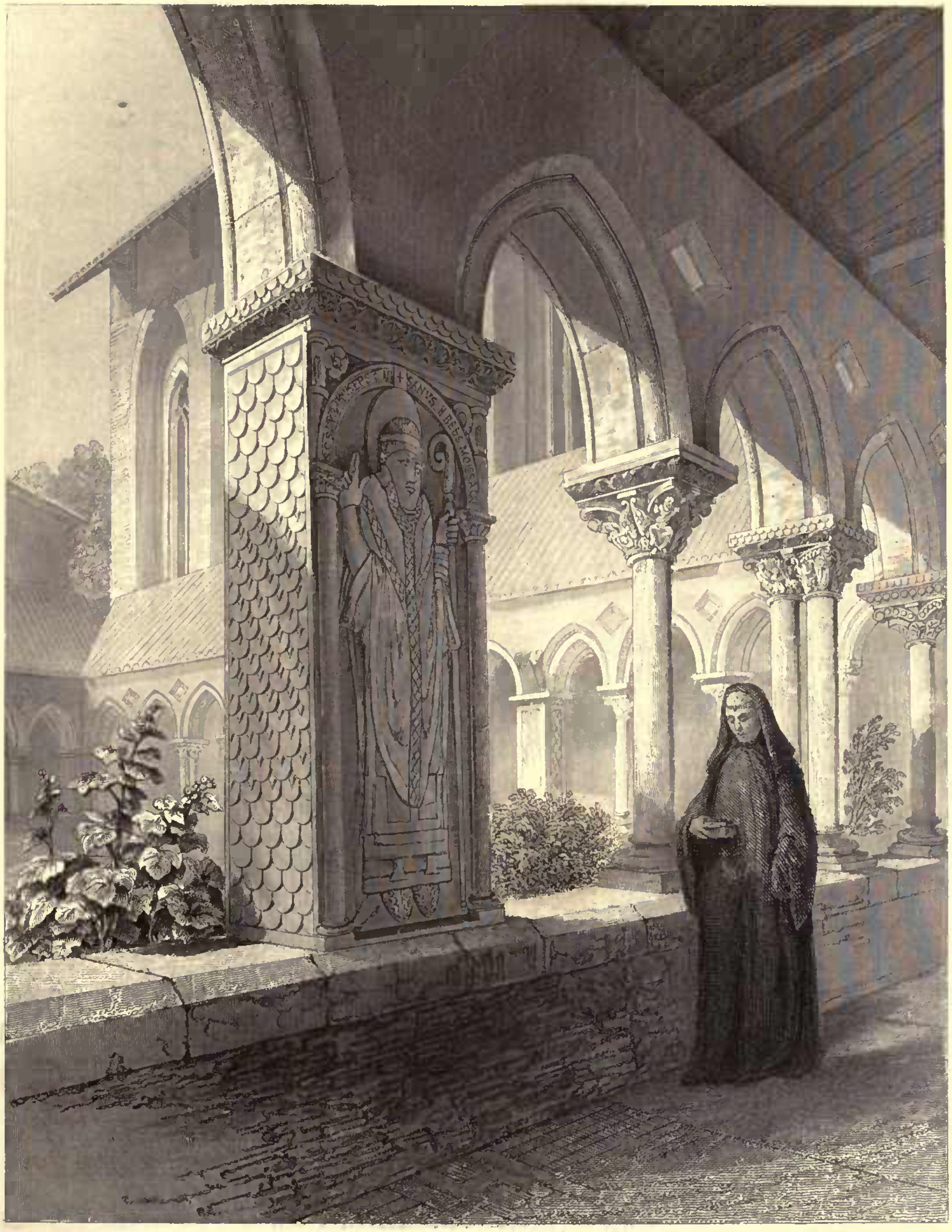
The expression used with this last person named is harsh, but curious;—the word "respuitur" shows

There is some tolerably good painting on the wall, modern, but in imitation of old patterns. By far the most perfect and most important part of the church is the tower at the west end, which is original, with the porch or narthex, which forms the lower part of it; the outer doorway is celebrated as one of the richest in France, being filled with symbolical sculptures, of a semi-Byzantine character: a great deal has been written on the subject of these sculptures, and the explanation of them, but, as my object is the architectural history, I have purposely avoided the tempting subject of symbolism.[a] The character of the sculpture of the outer doorway is late, or at least would be so in most parts of France, and it appeared to me later than that of the cloister. The doorway is slightly pointed, and the character is what with us would be transition Norman. The arch is doubly recessed, with shafts in the nooks, having capitals of stiff foliage, but these have no abacus, and the edges of the arch are not chamfered. The porch is vaulted with a peculiar kind of early vaulting, constructed of small cut stone, with massive square ribs, crossing in the centre, quite plain, but resting on capitals which are richly carved. Over the porch is another vaulted chamber, the vault of which is more domical. Altogether the original part of the tower is in a rather advanced style of art. The

evident tokens of disgust or hatred, but it is easily accounted for when we call to mind the continual feuds which existed between the two abbeys of Moissac and Cahors.

At first sight it would seem unnecessary to enter so minutely into the names of those who were present at the dedication, but it is a singular instance of how often these minor details, if they do not of themselves fix, will often confirm in a most satisfactory manner, the date of a building. A glance at the above list of years of office, shows that the dedication cannot have taken place earlier than (4) 1061, or later than (3) 1063. Although the Inscription gives us the date, "Since the birth of Christ, one thousand (Myriades for Mille) and sixty (tres duodenis—three twenty's)," this discrepancy I think must be accounted for, not by an error in the date of William's accession to the see of Agen, but by a blunder of the Monk's, either in the making of his verse, or else, as was more probably the case, from the inscription having been composed some years afterwards, the precise date had been forgotten. We are led to the conclusion that 1063 is the correct date, as it is given elsewhere. The two last lines refer to the supposed original foundation of the abbey by Clovis, and the addition afterwards by Louis (according to M. Dumege, Louis le Debonnaire, King of Aquitaine).

[a] I may, however, mention, that on each side of the porch are three rows of sculpture, covering the whole of the wall from the ground to the vault; the lower range consists of an arcade of round arches, with a single figure or statue under each arch, a little smaller than life, divided by shafts with capitals, inscribed with small groups of sculpture. The two upper ranges are in niches and bas-reliefs. On one side are the four Cardinal Virtues, with their reward, and opposite to them the four principal Sins, with their punishment. In the bas-reliefs are represented the chief events in the life of Christ, some of which are represented in a very curious manner, particularly the arrival of the Holy Family at the gates of a fortified town. Most of these sculptures, which are chiefly in marble, are sadly mutilated. Full details respecting them will be found in the Bulletin Monumental, tome 18, p. 473-483. The sculptures on the tympanum of the corner doorway are much more flat, and of earlier character than those of the porch.

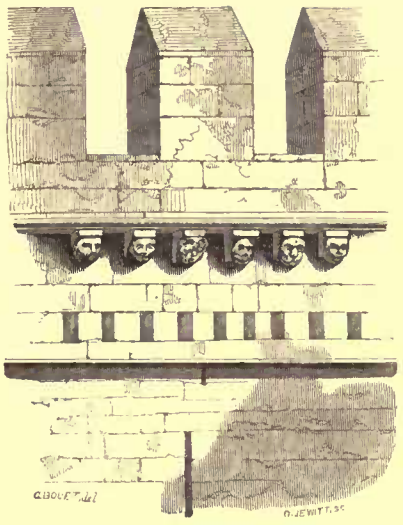


G. Bouet delt. J.H. Le Keux sc.

CLOISTER OF THE ABBEY OF MOISSAC.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries April [illegible]

exterior is also ornamented with shafts, but these are partly concealed by the parapet of a fortification, which has evidently been added *after* the tower was built. This fortification is of Anglo-Norman character, and of much more rude work than the earlier tower to which it is attached, and seems to afford strong evidence that architecture was in a considerably more advanced state in the South than in the North, and that its progress was suspended for a long period: in fact for nearly a century there appears to have been no change, whether the stagnation was caused by political events, such as civil wars and the union with England, or was merely the natural reaction after the violent stimulus which had been given to the art about the end of the eleventh century.[a] The upper part of the tower and the walls of the abbey are of brick, and surrounded by a kind of battlement; the bricks are flat, after the Roman fashion. At a short distance from the abbey is a brick house of the twelfth century, with some moulded brick, and some good windows, some of which have stone dressings and shafts. There is a good ring-knocker on the door.



ANGLO-NORMAN BATTLEMENT ON THE TOWER OF MOISSAC.

Montauban is chiefly a modern town. The market-place is surrounded by a piazza of the sixteenth century, but in the style of an earlier period; there is also a fine brick tower of early work. The bridge is of the thirteenth century, and a remarkably fine specimen of brick work; unfortunately the parapet is modern, which gives a modern look to the whole. The arches are pointed, but wide; the piers very massive, with small arches, pierced to lighten them, and a passage in the thickness of the wall.

It was my intention to have completed this series of papers on the present occasion, but I find that the number of interesting buildings of which I have notes and drawings, is still so great, that I must again trespass on your patience at some future time.

I remain, my Lord, Your very obedient Servant,

J. H. PARKER.

The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Mahon, F.R.S. President.

[a] Moissac was besieged by Richard the First, and taken from Raymond the Fifth, Count of Toulouse, who was then in possession of it. A few years afterwards it was given up to his son, Raymond the Sixth, and was again attacked and taken by Simon de Montfort in the beginning of the thirteenth century (1212).

II. *On a State-manuscript of the Reign of Henry VIII., the property of Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, Bart. In a Letter from* J. Payne Collier, *Esq. V.P., to* Peter Cunningham, *Esq. F.S.A.*

Read Dec. 7, 1854.

River-side, Maidenhead, Dec. 5, 1854.

Among some additional MSS., belonging to the Trevelyan family, recently placed in my hands, I find many of especial interest and value in an historical point of view; and, as I know nobody more capable of estimating them than yourself, I have addressed to you the following account of one of the most important. The particulars will be given in greater detail in a volume on the preparation of which I am at present engaged, but it seemed to me that a statement of a few of the most prominent features would be highly acceptable to our Society; and Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, who enrolled himself among our Fellows during the last season, has promptly and liberally allowed me so far to anticipate what will appear more at large hereafter.

The Royal Society possesses in its library one or more of what are called the "Household-books" of Henry VIII.; and the noble parchment-bound volume, to which I am now directing attention, looks, both externally and internally, as if it were a MS. of the same kind, relating to domestic expenses and payments. The fact, however, is that it is much more general, and I may say national, in its contents; and this is the circumstance which renders it peculiarly worthy of observation. It includes entries of payments made by the Treasurer of the King's Chamber, whether for foreign embassies, or for rewards and gratuities to ambassadors and members of their suites arriving in this country; for the construction and repair of royal palaces and their furniture; for disbursements in the shape of loans or direct bribes to governments and individuals; for the clothing and equipment of courtiers, servants, and soldiers; for the building and outfit of ships of war; for the maintenance of the royal family, including the King as well as his offspring; for annuities allowed to men of learning and science, including poets, painters, historians, physicians, lawyers, priests, players, singers, and musical performers; in short, for every department, whether the purpose to which the money was to be applied were national, as regards the king-

dom at large, or merely personal, as regards those who were publicly or secretly employed. It will be obvious, therefore, that this volume is a most important record, and how it came into the hands of the ancient family, to which it now belongs, we have no means of ascertaining: all we know is, that a junior member of that family was one of the chaplains to Henry VIII., and that through him it may have found its way to the venerable seat of Nettlecombe, in the county of Somerset, where for some centuries it has been deposited. At the period to which the MS. refers Bryan Tuke, afterwards Sir Bryan Tuke, was Treasurer of the King's Chamber, and it was perhaps originally his property; but it does not appear that he or his family at any time intermarried with the Trevelyans, so as to lead to a transference of the ownership of the volume. Without farther inquiry into this point, we may be well content to have the opportunity of making use of it, because it remains in private and intelligent hands, instead of being buried in some vast, overgrown central receptaele, where it might be lost in a labyrinth, almost inextricable from its confusion, and nearly useless from its immensity. It will be found to illustrate, not less curiously than authentically, various points of history, and biography.

It is stated that it was the duplicate or counterpart of a volume, as far as I am informed, not now in existence, and it is written, in a large fair hand, by a person of the name of William Phillips, who inserts an item for his own salary, and a separate charge for the paper he employed. On the side of the parchment cover it is thus entitled :—

"The counterpain of the King's Boke of Paymentes, made by Bryan Tuke, esquier, Treasourer of his Chamber, begynnyng the first day of October, Anno xx Regis Henrici Octavi."

Thus we see that it commences in 1528, the earliest entry being of a payment for the royal offering at Hampton Court on Sunday 1st October. It continues through the whole of the two next years, 1529 and 1530, and the latest disbursements it embraces were made in May 1531, not long after Henry VIII. had entered upon the twenty-third year of his reign.

The importance of these dates will be evident, when we remember that it was in 1528 that the great question of the legality of the marriage of the King with his brother's widow, Katherine of Arragon, was so generally and hotly discussed, not only in England, but throughout Europe: it was also the period of the fall of Cardinal Wolsey; and many entries refer to these two events, and fix the precise dates of most of the circumstances attending them. Thus, with respect to the arrival and reception of Cardinal Campeius, who was joined in commission

with Wolsey for the trial of the divorce, we learn from all the ordinary sources, that Campeius was lodged, early in October, at St. Mary Overies in Southwark; but we are not told that the King of England paid all the expenses of the journey, and that the money was issued, not on the warrant of Henry VIII., but upon that of Wolsey, who took upon himself the whole responsibility. In the same way, when Campeius, who was a severe sufferer from the gout, was to be conveyed to the King's presence at Bridewell, Hall the Chronicler, and Stow the Annalist after him, state that "he was carried in a chair between four persons, for he was not able to stand:" in the MS. before me it appears, that a magnificent chair was actually made for the purpose, that it was provided by order of Wolsey, and that it cost a sum equal to more than 80*l.* of our present money. The original memorandum is in these terms:—

"Item, to Richard Gibson, sergiaunte at armes, by my Lord Cardinall's commaundement, for a riche chayre, provided by the said Richard Gibson, the xxj day of Octobre, anno xx^{o}, for the Legate Campegius to be borne in, as apperith by a bill of the said Richard Gibson, recyting the charges of the making of the same chayre particularly,—xiiij^{li}. v^{s}. vj^{d}."

Those who, like you, happen to be acquainted with my book on the History of our Drama and Stage, may remember that the Richard Gibson above mentioned was most importantly concerned in getting up the court-plays and pageants in this part of the reign of Henry VIII. In the entry I have just quoted we have also the very day stated when this "rich chair" was used for conveying the gouty Campeius, for the first time during this visit to England, to the presence of the King.

On the 8th November, following this 21st October, the King made his famous speech in his palace of Bridewell regarding his scruples of conscience; and, according to Cavendish, Hall, and Stow, nothing was done in the special court, which met in the Black-friars to inquire into and to decide upon the royal divorce, until April, May, June, and July, 1529. However, the volume of payments, in my hands, shews that in the interval rewards were liberally distributed to persons in the suite of Cardinal Campeius: even his Luter, Albert de Ripa, on the 12th February received a present equal to about 200*l.* of our money; and under date of 8th March we meet with a larger payment to a person never before mentioned—the son of Cardinal Campeius, no doubt the offspring of his wife who died before he entered the church in 1507 or 1508: it is in these words:—

"Item, to maister Randulphe, the Cardynall Campegius sonne, the viiith day of Marche, in rewarde at his goinge home,—xlv^{li}."

It is supposed that 45*l.* then would have gone at least as far as 250*l.* at present: the young man was on his way back to Rome, and this money was presented to him to bear his travelling charges. It is a new fact, though perhaps not a very material one, that Campeius was accompanied to England by his son. In the same month, but the precise day is left blank, the Cardinal, by warrant from the King, was paid 233*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* which would represent about 1400*l.* of our present money.

The dilatory proceedings at the trial of Queen Katherine are matters of history, and upon these the book of accounts, to which I have hitherto been indebted, throws no very new light. Campeius, refusing to decide without a fresh reference to the Pope, was allowed to depart from England, the King being at the same time extremely wrath with Wolsey, that all this unforseen delay had occurred. Cavendish in his life tells us, without fixing any date, that Campeius "took his journey towards Rome with the King's reward: what it was I am uncertain;" and Stow uses the same words. Now, from the MS. before me I am able to state that Campeius quitted London in the end of August, as well as to give the precise amount of the King's reward, not only to the Cardinal, but to Florian, his Secretary. It appears that Thomas Risley, York Herald, was appointed to attend upon Campeius, when he went from London to Grafton to take leave of Henry VIII.; and that from thence they proceeded to Dover and from Dover to Calais, the whole duty occupying nineteen days. The reward Campeius received was plate to the value of 707*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* (nearly 5,000*l.*), while his Secretary, besides some portion of plate, not specified, was presented with the sum of 112*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* (nearly 700*l.*) As may be supposed, this is the last notice that occurs regarding Campeius and his mission to England.

During the whole period of the residence of Campeius in or near the Court, and for some time previous, the intercourse between London and Rome, by means of ambassadors, special envoys, couriers and messengers had been incessant. Sir Francis Bryan, the poet, was dispatched to the Pope on the 20th of November: he was followed on the 26th by Peter Vannes, and on the 4th December Dr. Bennett (called the King's Orator in Rome) took his leave on the same destination, while Dr. Knight, the King's principal Secretary, hastened after them in a few days. The most remarkable person employed on this business was, however, Stephen Gardener, who is said in some of our printed accounts to have received his instructions in February and to have returned "late in the summer." Here, in contradiction to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, we find that Gardener, instead of having received his instructions in February, had actually started on his journey in the middle of the preceding month: that he was allowed 26*s.* 8*d.* for his daily ex-

penses, and that 300*l.* were advanced to him on account. The rectification of matters of date of this kind, though apparently of small moment, is often of importance in relation to events which are consequent upon each other.

I shall now touch upon a few points of novelty and interest as regards Wolsey: they are all derived from the same valuable volume.

We may pass over the manner in which he appears, without check or control, to have issued his written warrants or verbal commandments for payments of money for nearly all purposes and upon all occasions, even for the dispatch of his own letters to Rome: an entry of this kind is made in the first month to which the MS. applies. Neither is it necessary to dwell upon the items which relate to the known part he took in the trial of Queen Katherine, since upon this portion of the subject nearly all the authorities, from Hall down to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, concur. It is to be observed, in reference to the transactions in which Wolsey was concerned, that no warrant was issued by him for the payment of any sum of money after the 19th June, 1529, when Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, the Irish Knight, had a present made to him of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, the order for which was given by Wolsey. After this date the warrants were those of the King or of particular officers, and it does not seem that Wolsey was allowed to interfere; for his disgrace had then commenced, in consequence of vexatious postponements in the trial of the divorce. Neither does his name again occur in this volume, until we come upon it, as it were, by surprise, in an entry, where he is spoken of by his double title of Cardinal of York and Bishop of Winchester, in connexion with a payment to him of a thousand marks out of the revenues of Winchester. The terms are remarkable:—

"Item, paide to the Lorde Cardynall of Yorke and Bushope of Wincestre, xviij. die Martii, by the Kynges warraunte, datede at Windesour, xvj. die Martii, in thadvancement of his hole yeres pension, of M. mrs by the yere, out of the bushopricke of Winchester, which yere shall ful y ende and ronne at Michilmas next cumming,—Dclxvj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}."

This quotation is valuable, both biographically and historically, since it settles the question whether the sum granted to Wolsey were one thousand marks, as Stow in his "Annals" asserts, or four thousand marks, as it stands in some MSS. of Cavendish's Life of the Cardinal. Such is the case with Dr. Wordsworth's edition; but in that of Mr. Singer it is here stated, in general terms, that the King was "moved to give Wolsey a pension out of Winchester." By the above entry, confirmed by a subsequent passage in Cavendish, it is clear that the pension was a thousand marks; and that, in consideration of the necessities of the Cardinal,

it was to be allowed him beforehand. After all his pomp and prosperity, after all his vast accumulations of wealth, after all his piles of plate and heaps of cloth of gold, and costly apparel, Wolsey, in March, 1530 (judging only from this entry), was reduced to the necessity of obtaining a loan of a thousand marks. This, too, to carry him to his exile at York, whither his enemies had by this date induced the fickle, selfish, and luxurious king to banish his great favourite.

Of Wolsey's subsequent residence at Cawood we find an interesting notice in the MS. under consideration; but, excepting that it belongs to the entries of March and is found among them, it has no particular date: it is as follows.

"Item to David Vincent, by the King's warrant, for his charges, being sent to Cawoode in the north contrie at suche time as the Cardenall was sicke."

As the sum charged was considerable, viz. 35*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* (more than 200*l.*), we may infer perhaps that the messenger (whom Cavendish styles his "fellow, Vincent") made some stay there, watching the progress of Wolsey's illness, and sending intelligence to the King, who was more anxious for the death than for the life of his victim, in order that he might seize upon the remainder of his moveables. It is quite evident that the Cardinal was not at this period so destitute as many have supposed, (see Cavendish's Life, edit. Singer, i. 262), and that he had carried with him a very large quantity of plate of which the King possessed himself the moment the breath was out of the body of its owner. Among the payments for January, 22 Henry VIII., we read in the Trevelyan MS., that two persons of the names of Robert Draper and John Alalye were employed for three entire days in London "weighing the plate that came from Cawood, late the Cardinalles." Such are the unceremonious terms used in the original memorandum, communicating a striking fact, of which we now hear for the first time.

From Cawood, as is well known, Wolsey was brought to the Earl of Shrewsbury's seat at Sheffield Park, and we now approach the last scene in the life of a man who, had he added goodness to his greatness, and probity to his talents, would have met with more sympathy from his contemporaries, and more approbation from posterity. It was to Sheffield Park that messengers were unexpectedly sent to convey Wolsey to the Tower; but Cavendish, and Stow, who usually adopts his authority, are both in error when they represent that Sir William Kingston (whom they call Master Kingston), dispatched on this errand with twenty-five of the royal guard, was Constable of the Tower: they also make Wolsey speak of him as in that office, and from thence augur most unfavourably as to the King's intention in fetching him to London. At this date the Lord Curzon was Constable of the Tower, as I find from the volume in my

hands, and Sir William Kingston Captain of the Guard; it was in this last capacity that he was employed to arrest the Cardinal. Forty pounds were paid to Kingston in November, 1530, for the expenses of his journey, as appears by an entry in the volume from which I have derived the foregoing information: here, too, he is only styled Knight, and Captain of the Guard:—

"Item to Sir William Kingston, Knight, capitain of the Kinges garde, sent to Therle of Shrewsbury with divers of the Kinges garde, for the conveyance of the Cardinall of Yorke to the Tower of London, in prest for their charges,—xl^{li}."

Wolsey died at Leicester on the 29th of the month to the accounts of which we are now adverting, having been able to get no further on his road to the Tower. It is a curious and novel circumstance, that exactly two months before this event the Dean and Canons of Cardinall's (now Christchurch) College, Oxford, had so completely separated themselves from Wolsey, and from all the interest he had taken in their establishment, that, instead of resorting to him for the comparatively small sum of 184*l.*, for the purpose of carrying on their works, they applied to the King for the loan of the money: I meet with the entry of it in the subsequent form:—

"Item to the Deane and Chanoynes of the Cardinalles College in Oxford, by the Kinges warrant dated the xxixth day of Septembre, anno xxij^{do}, for the lone of Ciiij^{xx}iiij^{li} viij^{s}. 8^{d}., uppon an obligation to be repaid agayne by the said Deane and Chanons to the Treasourer of the Kinges Chamber, for the Kinges use, on this side of Cristinmas next cumming,—Ciiij^{xx}iiij^{li} viij^{s} viij^{d}."

So that even this trifling advance could not be made out of the royal purse, filled to repletion by the sacrifice of Wolsey, without an express stipulation that the money was to be returned before Christmas.

Having thus far occupied your time, on the great topics of the royal divorce, and the fall of Wolsey, I must put other matters, not I think unworthy attention, and of a historical or personal kind, into a narrow compass. One very noticeable particular is the large sums frequently placed at the mere and uncontrolled disposal of Henry VIII. during the proceeding in which he and Queen Katherine were so deeply interested. Thousands, stated to have been given to the King, were, no doubt, expended in secret bribes at home and abroad; and some of them, under the name of loans and other advances, found a place in the MS.: the most remarkable of these is 1400*l.*, equal to at least 8000*l.* of our present money, to the French Ambassador on his return to Paris. With regard to the Queen's means of communication with her relatives in Spain, there is only a single memorandum of a messenger sent thither by her, and he was obliged to return to London before he could deliver his letters, owing to the fracture of his leg: this at least is the cause assigned in the MS.

Cardinal Pole is twice mentioned in it: in November, 1528, there is a note of the payment to him of an "exhibition," but the sum is not given: in all probability it was 25*l.* per quarter. In the next year he had gone to Paris, and while residing there he was allowed 100*l.* per annum; but the entry of this sum, or of any other, is not repeated in 1530. In 1529 Cranmer was employed, as doctor in the law, to accompany the Earl of Wiltshire on an embassy to the Emperor; and in the following year he was sent abroad with the King's Ambassador "in the parts of Italy," not naming Rome. It is not an unimportant incident, at this period of the career of Hugh Latimer, that on the second Sunday in Lent, 1530, he was called upon to preach before the King, and received the usual reward of 20*s.* for his sermon. At the date of which we are now speaking, Thomas Wriothesley, who afterwards so unexpectedly became Lord Chancellor of England, was only Clerk to the Cofferer of the Household—a fact not hitherto mentioned. Henry VIII. had a propensity for elevating his servants from the lower grades of society; but unfortunately he had also a propensity for cutting off their heads. Wriothesley, however, was lucky enough to escape this distinction.

Richard Cecill, the father of William Cecill, afterwards the famous Lord Burghley, is frequently mentioned: the biographers of the Lord Treasurer have been anxious to dignify his father by representing that he filled the high office of Master of the Robes to Henry VIII. This post was given to Lord Windsor in 1529, and Richard Cecill, as we learn from this MS., was then only "yeoman" in the department.

Another word or two regarding our old printers, and I have done. Pinson, Berthelet, and Barker are all commemorated. It is stated by Herbert, that Thomas Berthelet became King's Printer in 1529, but, on the authority of the Trevelyan MS., in May of that year Richard Pinson was paid 7*l.* 10*s.* "for printing papers against heresies, and for reformation of engrossing of farms." In October, 1531, Berthelet received 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* "for printing 600 papers and books of proclamation for ordering and punishing of certain beggars and vagabonds, and damning books containing certain errors, after the rate of one penny for every leaf." Whether these proclamations exist in the admirable collection in our library I am not able to state; but the price paid for the operation of printing at that date is curious, and I am not aware that we have any other authority on the point. With regard to Christopher Barker, all that is worthy noting is, that in 1529 and 1530 he filled the situation of Richmond Herald, and that in this capacity, long before he obtained a patent for printing, he accompanied Sir Thomas More and the Bishop of London to Cambray, when they were dispatched by Henry VIII. to negociate a treaty there. This fact is new in Barker's biography.

I have omitted a fact of much antiquarian and literary interest, viz., that while John Leland was pursuing his studies and investigations abroad, and before he obtained the title of the King's Antiquary, he was allowed a pension, which, although small in actual amount, was not inconsiderable in those days: it was 25*s.* per quarter. I may mention, at the same time, that the learned Ludovicus Vives, who had been invited to reside in this country, and who was the instructor of the Princess Mary, received an annuity of 20*l.*; and, although it has been said that he was imprisoned for the part he took in favour of Queen Katherine, it does not appear in this MS. that the half-yearly payments to him were ever discontinued. That Leland was in confinement we know from the petition from him which I printed many years ago in our Archæologia. The original is in my hands.

I am, yours, &c.,

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

III. *On the Origin of the Title and Office of Cursitor-Baron of the Exchequer. In a Letter addressed to* Lord Viscount Strangford, *F.R.S., V.P., from* Edward Foss, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read November 16, 1854.

My Lord,

I am induced to address your Lordship, not so much on account of the general interest you have always taken in antiquarian researches, as presuming that, from your descent from a Chief Justice of the reign of Henry VII.,[a] and your possession of his Sergeant's Ring, with the first known[b] instance of a posy inscribed, you will have a special regard to those inquiries which relate to legal history. Your connection also with a Chief Baron of the Exchequer of the last century warrants me more particularly in calling your Lordship's attention to the following observations with reference to the title of an officer of the latter court, which I trust may be worthy of the consideration of our Society.

Although the history of our most ancient titles and offices may generally be traced with tolerable certainty, we occasionally meet with some of more recent date, of which, though we might reasonably expect greater facility in the inquiry, no account can be discovered of the introduction or origin. The possessor of such an office is too commonly satisfied with performing its duties and receiving the stipulated salary, without troubling himself about its antecedent history; or, perhaps, while he prides himself on its extreme antiquity, pleads that as a proof of the inutility of investigation.

The office of Cursitor-Baron of the Exchequer, for instance, is, according to the general acceptation, as old as the Exchequer itself, whether we date the introduction of that department of the State at the time of the Conquest, or in the reign of Henry I. And for this there is some semblance of probability, for the same duties which are now, or till recently were,[c] entrusted to the Cursitor-Baron

[a] Sir John Fineux, Chief Justice of the King's Bench from 11 Henry VII. 1495, to 17 Henry VIII. 1526.

[b] "Suæ quisque fortunæ faber." Lloyd's State Worthies, 82. Notes and Queries, vii. 188.

[c] By Stat. 3 and 4 William IV. c. 99, some of these duties are transferred to the Commissioners for auditing Public Accounts.

have been performed by some officer of the Exchequer from the most distant period. It has therefore not unnaturally been presumed that the executor of those duties in ancient times bore the same title as the officer of the present day. But if it were so, how is it that we never meet with the name of Cursitor-Baron for more than five centuries after the introduction of the Exchequer? Is it not rather extraordinary that it never occurs in any ancient Record?—that it is not mentioned in the elaborate history of the court by Madox?—and that it is not noticed in any subsequent work, with which I am acquainted, from the end of the reign of Edward II., at which Madox terminates his history, till the early part of that of James I?

This universal silence—especially on the part of that careful historian Madox, who gives the name, and describes the duty, of every officer of the court, from the Chief Justiciary, who presided, down to the Pesour and the Fusour of the metal—cannot fail to create in the mind of any intelligent inquirer a strong doubt whether an officer so called then existed; and to induce him to seek for some further evidence, in the hope of finding the time when, and the reason for which, he was actually created.

The principal duty devolving upon the Cursitor-Baron, until the recent Act of Parliament, was the examination and passing of the accounts of the sheriffs of all the counties in England. There can be no doubt that this duty was originally performed by one of the regular Barons, and that at one time they used to travel for some of the purposes connected with it. By a statute of Edward I. it is enacted, "that at one time certain every year, one Baron and one clerk of our said Exchequer shall be sent through every shire of England, to inroll the names of all such as have paid that year's debts exacted on them by green wax. And the same Baron and clerk shall view all such tallies and inroll them. And shall hear and determine complaints made against sheriffs and their clerks and bailiffs, that have done contrary to the premisses."[a] The examination of the sheriffs' accounts was generally performed in London, and when completed the Baron and the clerk assisting him signed their names at the head. It does not distinctly appear in what order the Barons acted, but probably they at first took the duty in turn; and, as after the appointment of a Chief Baron the others were called the second, third, and fourth Baron, it then perhaps became the peculiar province of the junior of these three.

It is therefore evident that at some period this duty was transferred from the

[a] Stat. de Finibus Levatis, 27 Edw. I. Statutes of the Realm, i. 129.

regular Barons to a distinct officer; and in order to discover when, and under what circumstances, this probably took place, we must direct our attention to the changes that have occurred in the ancient constitution of the court.

In the original institution of the Exchequer, all the judges were Lords of the land and actual Barons; and until the reign of Henry III. they were indiscriminately styled "Justiciarii et Barones."[a] On the division of the courts in that reign, the real Barons having in the mean time gradually seceded from the employment, special persons were assigned to sit in the Exchequer, "tanquam Baro;" thus retaining the name of Baron: and in order to distinguish their business from that of the two other courts, from which they were now separated, their duty was expressly limited "pro negotiis nostris quæ ad idem Scaccarium pertinent."[b] One of these persons, Alexander de Swereford, had previously been a clerk in the Exchequer, and thus was fully cognizant of all the details of the Court.

All these Barons held equal rank until the reign of Edward II., when for the first time one of them was distinguished by the title of Chief Baron.[c] He was sometimes selected from the legal profession, but the other Barons were generally men who had acquired practical knowledge of the revenue in the minor offices of the court. They manifestly held an inferior rank to the judges of the other courts, and were not reckoned among them in judicial proceedings. In the Statute of Nisi Prius, 14 Edward III. it is enacted, "that if it happen that none of the justices of the one bench nor of the other come into the county, then the Nisi Prius shall be granted before the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, *if he be a man of the law*:"[d] thus excluding the other Barons, and even the Chief Baron, unless he were a regular lawyer. The same distinction occurs in the reign of Henry IV:[e] and even the rank of the Chief Baron does not seem to have been higher than that of the puisne judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, if so high; since no less than seven of the Chief Barons, from the reign of Henry IV. to the middle of that of Henry VIII.[f] held, in addition, the judgeship of one of those Courts; which two of them subsequently retained in preference to the office of Chief Baron.

By the poll tax of 2 Richard II. though the Chief Baron is placed in the same

[a] Madox's Exchequer, i. 199, 200.
[b] Ibid. i. 54.
[c] Rot. Pat. 5 Edw. II. p. 2, m. 17.
[d] Statutes of the Realm, i. 287.
[e] Rot. Parliamentorum, iii. 498.
[f] John Cockayne; William Babington; John Juyn; Peter Arderne; Humphrey Starkey; John Fitz-James; and Richard Broke.

class with the other judges, the puisne Barons are not even named: [a] and in a commission in the fifth year of that reign, to inquire into the abuses of the different courts, the Barons and great officers of the Exchequer are named *after* the sergeants-at-law.[b]

Some of the Barons in the reign of Henry VI., as Nicholas Dixon, William Derby, and Thomas Levesham, were in holy orders; others were members of parliament, and two of them, Roger Hunt and Thomas Thorpe, were Speakers of the House of Commons; all during the time they were Barons. Fortescue also, who wrote in this reign, does not include them among the judges; and in reference to the rings given by the sergeants on taking their degree, says that those for "every justice" must be of the value of "one mark," while "to each Baron of the Exchequer, &c." they are to be "of a less value in proportion to their rank and quality."[c]

Under Henry VII. and Henry VIII. the same marked difference still existed; none of them being summoned as attendants on the House of Lords as the judges of the two other benches were; nor being privileged like them to have chaplains.[d] But they were already advancing in legal education and entering into the inns of court. Several instances occur of their being members, and even readers there, after they had become Barons. But they still were selected principally from the officers of the Exchequer, and one even was raised from the inferior position of Clerk of the Pipe.[e]

No change took place in the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary. One of the Barons had been Engrosser of the Great Roll;[f] and at the sergeants' feasts their servants were not allowed liveries, though those of the judges were provided with them. The rings of the judges were of the value of 16*s*., while those given to the Barons were only 14*s*.;[g] which was still further reduced under Elizabeth to 10*s*.[h]

There is no doubt therefore that, from the reign of Henry III. to that of Elizabeth, the Barons of the Exchequer were inferior in degree to the judges of the two other courts; and that in fact they were little more than superior officers of the revenue, raised to the bench on account either of their long service, or of their known aptness in the details of that department. But by degrees the business of the Exchequer had materially increased; the causes that were tried there ceased to be confined to cases of revenue, and by means of the writ of *Quo Minus*

[a] Rot. Parl. iii. 58.
[b] Ibid. iii. 102.
[c] Fortescue, De Laudibus (Ed. 1741,) 115.
[d] Statutes of the Realm, iii. 457.
[e] Nicholas Lathell. Rot. Parl. vi. 97.
[f] John Darnall. Dugdale's Chronica Series, 86.
[g] Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. 129, 130.
[h] Ibid. 125.

all sorts of civil actions were by a legal fiction introduced. No wonder then that the Chief Baron, who was the only lawyer among them, required some assistance to cope with this accumulation of business, and that it was found necessary to graft a little more legal learning on the bench, in order to give weight to decisions on intricate points that were daily arising.

Accordingly in the month of June, 1579, 21 Elizabeth, two vacancies in the court, occasioned by death or resignation, afforded the opportunity of trying the experiment. One of them was filled up in the accustomed manner by John Sotherton, who had held the office of Foreign Apposer for twenty years ;[a] but the other was supplied by Robert Shute, as second Baron, who for the first time was selected from the sergeants-at-law ; and in the patent he received was contained a special clause, ordering that "he should be reputed and be of the same order, rank, estimation, dignity, and pre-eminence, to all intents and purposes, as any puisne judge of either of the two other courts."[b] He was the first who was thus put on an equality with the other judges, and was consequently privileged to go the circuits, and to hold assizes as they did. John Birch, the Baron who remained in the court at their nomination, is represented by Dugdale to have been also a sergeant; but from various circumstances, unnecessary to particularise here, I think that author has mistaken the man. The vacancy on his death, and all future vacancies in Elizabeth's reign, were supplied by sergeants; so that at the accession of James I. the whole court consisted of men of the law, except the above John Sotherton, the fourth Baron, who was the only one left on the bench accustomed to the routine duties of the Exchequer.

On Sotherton's retirement eighteen months after James came to the Crown, George Snigg, a sergeant-at-law, was appointed; so that then the legal phalanx was complete. After fifteen months, however, viz., in July, 1606, although no other vacancy occurred, another Baron, Nowell Sotherton, was added to the rest. He was not a sergeant, and, although of Gray's Inn, he is not mentioned by any of the reporters as an advocate, nor, although the names of all the other Barons occur in the books, is he ever mentioned as sitting in court.

In May, 1610, Thomas Cæsar, the brother of Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls, was, according to Dugdale, appointed a Baron; and in the same author we for the first time find the designation of Baron-Cursitor used with regard to him. This entry occurs in the books of the Inner Temple on his election: "That the said Thomas Cæsar, then being the puisne Baron of the Exchequer (commonly called the Baron-Cursitor), should not be attended to Westminster by any but the

[a] Stowe's London, 332.

[b] Dugdale's Chron. Series, 94.

officers of the Exchequer; for as much as none but such as are of the coif ought to be attended by the officers of the House." And in the following month another order was made in these terms: "That Thomas Cæsar, then one of the Benchers of this House, notwithstanding an Act made 7 June, 5 Jac. viz.—that none who should thenceforth be called to the Bench, that had not read, should take place of any reader, or have a voice in Parliament—having not read, but fined for not reading, and then called to be puisne Baron of the Exchequer, should have place at the Bench Table, the said order notwithstanding."[a] These entries shew, first—that he was not a sergeant; next—that he had not attained the dignity of reader to the society; and thirdly—that his appointment of puisne Baron, or Baron-Cursitor, was a new occurrence requiring a special order of the bench; and the omission of his name by the reporters proves that he had no judicial function to perform.

He seems to have been soon tired of his duties, and to have resigned them five months afterwards, for in October of the same year another John Sotherton of the same inn of court was nominated a Baron; and here is the entry in the Inner Temple books with reference to him: "That John Sotherton, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, being called to the Bench, should have his place at the Bench Table above all the readers, in such sort as Sir Thomas Cæsar, *late* puisne Baron of the Exchequer, had."[b] Thus it is clear that he was not even a bencher at the time of his appointment; and, though the reporters of the period frequently mention all the Barons who sat in court, they never introduce his name. From these facts it may be inferred that he held the office of Cursitor-Baron only; and that it was of greatly inferior grade to that of the regular Barons is proved by his name being placed in a special commission to inquire into defective titles, issued in 1622, after the Attorney-General, though two other Barons, Denham and Bromley, are inserted previous to that officer. This order of precedence again occurs in a similar commission in the next year; and in another relative to nuisances in London, in 1624, several knights and the Recorder of London intervene between the regular Barons and him.[c]

While, therefore, it is apparent that the office of Cursitor-Baron was not *eo nomine* an ancient office, the probability afforded by the circumstances above detailed that it had its origin in the reign of James I. is greatly strengthened by considering the state of the court at that time. John Sotherton (the elder) on his retirement in 1604 was the last of the regular Barons according to the *ancien régime* and the only one who was practically acquainted with the mode of accounting and other formal business of the Exchequer. George Snigg succeeded him; but, being

[a] Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. 149. [b] Ibid. [c] Rymer's Fœdera, xvii. 388, 512, 540.

bred a lawyer, like the Barons he found on the Bench, could not, any more than they, have the requisite knowledge of the technical matters of account, indispensable for the due investigation of the sheriffs' returns, and other minute matters which up to that time had been customarily performed by one of the regular Barons. George Snigg made an attempt to master this duty; for we find his name attached to the current accounts of the year of his appointment.[a] This audit no doubt was sufficient to prove that the duty could not be satisfactorily performed by men whose habits and previous education led them in a very different direction. The exercise also of this laborious but necessary employment must have been so onerous an interference with their judicial functions, that it is most probable the legal Barons represented their own incompetency, and suggested the appointment of some person to aid them, in addition to their number, who was conversant with the duties and competent to perform them.

Accordingly, in the following year, Nowell Sotherton, who no doubt was bred up in the Exchequer, and was the relative probably of John Sotherton, the last Baron, was appointed; and, as in no list of the Barons, which the reporters give as forming the judicial bench of the Exchequer, do we find his name, the natural inference seems to be, that his appointment was for the sole purpose I have intimated, viz. to audit the sheriffs' accounts, and to transact all the customary business with regard to them, and the other *matters of course* which were merely ministerial.

It is observable also that, although King James I. in the first year of his reign added a fifth judge to each of the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, his order did not extend to the Exchequer, which then had only four; yet when the judges of the two other courts were, after a few years, again reduced to four, the Exchequer, besides the four legal Barons, still retained the Cursitor-Baron.

The title, Baron-Cursitor, was evidently adopted in imitation of the ancient Cursitors in Chancery, who, holding the second place under the Chief Clerks or Masters of that Court, were called in Latin *Clerici de Cursu*, and prepared all original writs and other writs *of course*. So also the Barons-Cursitor held a secondary rank, and were solely employed, like their prototypes, in doing the formal business, the settled rule, of the Exchequer.

Dr. Cowell, in his "Interpreter," published in November, 1607, by stating, under the word "Baron," that there were only *four* Barons of the Exchequer, manifestly shews that he describes the state of the Court at an earlier period than

[a] 2 and 3 Jac. I. in the Record Office, Carlton Gardens.

the date of his book; no less than sixteen months having then elapsed since the appointment of Nowell Sotherton as a fifth Baron. The author was a civilian resident at Cambridge, and, being professionally ignorant of the practice of the Court, was evidently not aware of the change. His account turns out to be a mere abridgment of the narration of the duties of the Barons and other Officers written by Sir Thomas Fanshawe, the Queen's Remembrancer, for the instruction of Lord Buckhurst, when he was appointed Lord High Treasurer in 1599:[a] and that narration of course applied to the state of the Court as it existed at that time, and for the twenty previous years, viz.—ever since the introduction of legal Barons.

Both say that the Lord Chief Baron "answereth the barre in matter of lawe;" that the second Baron, "in the absence of the Lord Chief Baron," doth the like;—that the third Baron, "in the absence of the other two," has the same duty;—and that the fourth Baron "is always a coursetour of the Court, and hath bene chosen of some one of the clerks of the Remembrancers' offices, or of the clerke of the Pipe's office . . . . He informeth the rest of the Barons of the course of the Court in any mater that concerneth the King's prerogative." This was precisely the position of John Sotherton (the elder) when all the others had become legal Barons. The words "always *a Coursetour of the Court*,"[b] are evidently used merely as descriptive of the duties of the fourth Baron, not as denoting his title; for neither he nor his predecessors are ever designated by any other title than that of fourth Baron. When, however, on his resignation, all the four regular Barons became legal Barons, and none of them were competent to perform the duties which hitherto had devolved on the fourth Baron, then an extra and an inferior officer was added to the Court to exercise those formal functions; and, as by the constitution of the Court these duties could not be performed but by a Baron, he received the designation of Cursitor-Baron; but he was not invested with any judicial power.

In the next work on the Exchequer which I have met with, published by Christopher Vernon, in 1642, the proper distinction is made. The author there says—"The chiefe Baron and *three* other learned Barons, and the puny or Cursitor-Baron, are all in the King's gift. The said Cursitor-Baron

[a] These instructions seem to have remained in manuscript till 1658, when they were published under the title of "The Practice of the Exchequer Court, with its several Offices and Officers. Written at the request of the Lord Buckhurst, some time Lord Treasurer of England. By Sir T. F." pp. 23-34.

[b] I find that these words are also used in a manuscript, exhibited to the Society on its next meeting after this Paper was read, which is stated to be written in 1572. It seems more probably to have been written in 1600; and with regard to the fourth Baron, it adopts precisely the same description as that given by Sir Thomas Fanshawe.—Proceedings, III. 121.

being so called because he is chosen most usually out of some of the best experienced Clerkes of the two Remembrancers' or Clerke of the Pipe's office, and is to informe the Bench and the King's learned Counsel from time to time, both in Court and out of Court, what the course of the Exchequer is." [a]

It may then, I think, be concluded that Nowell Sotherton was the first person who was added to the four regular Barons, as an appendage to the Court, with the special denomination of Cursitor-Baron; that Thomas Cæsar was the second, which will account for the expression in the Inner Temple order, "commonly called"; and that John Sotherton (the younger) was the third. The latter continued in office in the reign of Charles I.; and when Michaelmas Term was adjourned on account of the plague that raged in the sixth year, we find that the Essoigns were kept by Baron Sotherton, that duty being merely a matter *of course*.

One of the most showy functions of this officer was then, as it is now, to make the public announcement of the Crown's approval of the election of the sheriffs of London and Middlesex: a duty perhaps imposed upon him because the time of their inauguration occurs in the middle of the vacation, when the other Barons are absent. I am in possession of a quaint speech made, or pretended to be made, on one of these occasions by Cursitor-Baron Tomlinson, in the time of the Protectorate, which is so curious in itself, and so illustrative of the view I have taken of the position which the Cursitor-Baron held, that I shall be excused for giving a few extracts.[b]

Francis Warner and William Love were elected sheriffs in 1659, and on their presentation at the Exchequer the Baron commenced his address thus:—"How do you do, Mr. Warner? God save you, Mr. Love!" He then observes in them three things:—that they are well clad—that they feed well—and that consequently they do well. With regard to the first he remarks:—"Truly, I wish I were a sheriff, so it were not chargeable, for certainly a sheriff never can be a'cold—his gown is so warm; and o'my word yours seem to be of excellent good scarlet. Some men may ask why you wear red gowns, and not blew or green." And then, after shewing why they should not be blue or green, he proceeds:—"But red is the most convenient colour; for indeed most handsome and delectable things are red, as roses, pomegranates, the lips, the tongue, &c., so that indeed our ancestors did wisely to clothe magistrates with this decent and becoming colour. 'Tis true I have a gown too, but they make me wear *the worst* of any

[a] Considerations for regulating the Exchequer. Per C. Vernon, de Scaccario Dom. Regis, 1642, p. 33.

[b] "Baron Tomlinson's learned speech to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, when they came to be sworn at the Chequer." London: printed in the year 1659.

Baron of the Exchequer; 'tis plain cloth, as yee see, without any lining; yet my comfort is, I am still a Baron, and I hope I shall be so as long as I live; when I am dead I care not who's Baron, or whether there be a Baron or no." "But," he says a little further on, "do you know wherefore you come hither? I don't question but you do; however, you must give me leave to tell yee, for in this place I am a better man than either of you both, or indeed both of you put together. Why then I will tell yee: you come hither to take your oaths before me. Gentlemen, I am the Puisne Baron of the Chequer, that is to say, the meanest Baron; for though I am not guilty of interpreting many hard words, yet this hath been so continually beaten into my head that I do very well understand it. However, I could brook my means well enough (for some men tell me that I deserve no better,) were it not the cause of my life's greatest misery, for here I am constrained, or else I must lose my employment, to make speeches in my old age, and when I have one foot in the grave, to stand here talking in publike."

He tells the sheriffs, among other things, that they are "the chief executioners," and adds, "and now we talk of hanging, Mr. Sheriff, I shall entreat a favour of you; I have a kinsman at your end of the town, a ropemaker; I know you will have many occasions before this time twelve months, and I hope I have spoken in time; pray make use of him, you'll do the poor man a favour, and yourself no prejudice. Pray, gentlemen, what have you to dinner? for I profess I forgot to go to market yesterday, that I might get my speech by heart. Truly, gentlemen, I count it no dishonour to go to market myself. . . . . Since I went, I find that my servants cheated me of, I warrant, five pounds in the year. They would reckon me two shillings for a leg of mutton, which I can buy as good a one now for five groats and two pence . . . Now, Mr. Sheriffs, get yee home, kiss your wives, and by that time the cloth's layed, I'll be with you, and so God by till I see you again."

The rest of the worthy Baron's address is quite as humorous and odd; but, though it might entertain your Lordship in private, it would be derogating from the gravity of this meeting to inflict upon it any further specimens. Whether it be the real speech or only a burlesque on his usual style of address, it is equally curious and interesting.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's very faithful Servant,

EDWARD FOSS.

Lord Viscount Strangford,
F.R.S., V.P.

IV. *An Account of the Presents received and Expenses incurred at the Wedding of Richard Polsted, of Albury, Esquire, and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William More, of Loseley, Esquire: in a Letter from* JOHN EVANS, *Esq. F.S.A. to* J. Y. AKERMAN, *Esq. Secretary.*

Read March 23, 1854.

Nash Mills, Hemel Hempsted, February 3, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR,

BY the kindness of James More Molyneux, Esquire, of Loseley, I am enabled to lay before the Society of Antiquaries a transcript of another of the Loseley MSS. some of which have already appeared in the eighteenth volume of the Archæologia, and a collection from which was published in 1835 by Mr. A. J. Kempe, a Fellow of this Society. It is an account of the presents received and the expenses incurred at the wedding of the daughter of Mr. (afterwards Sir William) More, of Loseley, in 1567, and will, I think, be found of considerable interest as throwing light on the wedding customs among the landed gentry of that period, the more especially as I am not aware of any similar account having hitherto been published.

The wedding took place on the 3d of November, 1567, between Richard Polsted, of Albury, Esquire, and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William More, of Loseley, Esquire, but there is no record of the minister who performed the ceremony, much less of those who "assisted" him in the performance of his duty. The bridegroom was a member of a good Surrey family, and was evidently a man of some consideration, having been sheriff of that county at the time of his death in 1576.

Of the bride there is more to be said, as hers appears to have been a rather eventful life. She was born on the 28th of April, 1552, and was consequently not sixteen at the time of her wedding with Mr. Polsted, of which we have here the account. From this marriage there was no issue, and in the same year as that in which she was left a widow of five-and-twenty by the death of Mr. Polsted, we find[a] Tobie Mathew, afterwards Archbishop of York, paying her his addresses. Yet, though "he was careful not to discontent her in any waie," so much so that

[a] Kempe's Loseley Manuscripts, p. 261.

he found his "suite in some sort a servitude," she preferred to him Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Wolley, of Pirton, Latin Secretary to Queen Elizabeth. By him she had one son, Sir Francis Wolley, Knight, born in 1583. Sir John was probably nearly twenty years her senior, as he was elected Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, the year after that in which his wife was born. Though a layman, he was in 1569 made Prebendary of Compton Dundon, and in 1578 *Dean of Carlisle*. He was knighted in 1592, and died at Pirford in February or March 1595–6. During the latter part of his life Lady Wolley was one of the ladies of the Privy Chamber to Queen Elizabeth, and in Mr. Kempe's interesting collection of the Loseley MSS. several of her own and her husband's letters will be found written from the Court to her father Sir William More at Loseley.

Shortly after the death of her second husband, Lady Wolley, being fair and forty, if nothing more, married for a third time, but was not destined again to survive her husband. She now became the wife of Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and afterwards Lord High Chancellor of England, who also was thrice married. The time of her death is uncertain, but it appears to have taken place about the year 1600. There is a monument to her memory in the Loseley Chapel of St. Nicholas' Church, Guildford. There was also an inscription in Latin hexameters sounding her praises with those of her husband and son, Sir John and Francis Wolley, erected in St. Paul's Cathedral, but destroyed by the great fire in 1666.

It will be observed that the wedding took place at the Black Friars, and not at Loseley, possibly owing to the preparations for building the present house, which was commenced in 1562. The church and precinct of the Black Friars had been granted at the suppression of monasteries to Sir Thomas Cawarden, at whose death in 1559, the widow and Mr. William More became his executors, and possibly Lady Cawarden lent her house for the wedding. The feasting was carried on for a fortnight, and, to judge from the vast amount of edibles which were presented by the friends, in addition to the large quantity bought or brought from Loseley, there could have been no lack of good fare. A bride of the present day would certainly be astonished at receiving such an array of notably fat does, capons of grease, fat cygnets, herons, cranes, and partridges alive, to say nothing of beefs, veals, muttons, and porkers, to the utter exclusion of more durable tokens of friendship.

The account of the expenses furnishes a few entries that illustrate the wedding customs of those days, in addition to the information that may be gained relative to the price of provisions and the rate of wages in London at that time. The wedding ring would appear to have been made specially for the occasion (probably

with some posy inscribed) and from some piece of gold selected for the purpose, though ninepence in gold had to be added to it. We also may gather that the bridegroom had to pay a certain part of the expenses, and that the rewards paid by the father of the bride to the bearers of the different presents were on a very liberal scale. It will too be remarked that a fast or fish diet was observed to a certain extent on the Saturday as well as the Friday. I will, however, leave the account to speak for itself, and merely observe, in conclusion, that some interesting statistics may be gathered by the naturalist, from a comparison of the numbers of the different species of birds, taken in conjunction with the places from which they were sent, with what might readily be obtained from the same localities at the present day.

Believe me,

My dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

JOHN EVANS.

J. Y. Akerman, Esq.

iij[d] die Novembr, 1567, for the maryage of Mr. Polsted and Mrs. Eliz. More.

The Order of doings at the Black Fryers, under and for Mr. Will[m] More of Loseley, in the county of Surrey, Esquyre, begonne the thirde day of Novembr, Anno Dñi 1567, and there contynued unto the xviith day of the same moneth: viz.—

L. Clynton.

Presents geven, and first by the right hoñble Lorde the Lorde Clynton, L. Admyrall of England and my Lady Clynton: viz.—

Swannes	iiij.
Torkes fatt	iiij.
Capons	vj.
Partriges	vij.
Wodecockes	vj.
Hares	j.
Muttons ffatt	x.
Sugar loves grete	ij.
Two grete boxes of mermelade	ij.
Barrells of sukkett [a]	ij.
Hogsheds of wyne	j.

L. Mountague.

Presents geven by the right hoñable L. Viscount Mountague—

Doose ffatt	j.

Wynchester.

Presents geven by the L. Bishopp of Winchester [b]—

Hyndes	j.

Mr. Secretory.

From Mr. Secretory Sycell—

Doose ffatt	j.

Mr. Balam, esquyre.

From Mr. Balam, esquyre, out of Mershlands, in Norfolk—

Cranes	ix.
Hernshawes	v.
Curlewes	j.
Duck and Mallards	xliiij.
Teeles	xxvj.
Plovers	ix dozen
Swannes	ix.
Larks	xxxviij dozen
Bytters [c]	xvj.
Knotts [d]	iiij dozen iiij[or]

[a] Sweetmeats.

[b] Sir William More was Keeper of Farnham Park, a demesne of the Bishop of Winchester.

[c] Bitterns—*Botaurus Stellaris.*

[d] A species of Sandpiper—*Tringa Canutus.*

	Styntes [a]	vij dozen di.
	Godwytts	xxij
S[r] Henr. Nevell, knight.	From S[r] Henry Nevell, knyght—	
	Doose ffatt	j.
	Synatts ffatt [b]	ij.
S[r] Henr. Weston, knight	From S[r] Henry Weston, knight—	
	Doose notable ffatt	j.
S[r] Edward Bray, knight.	From S[r] Edward Bray, knight—	
	P'tryges	vj.
	Duck and mallards	iiij.
	Teeles	iiij.
Mr. Lyfelde, esquire.	From Mr. Lyfelde, esquyre—	
	Larkes	xij dozen.
	Fesaunts	iij.
	P'triges	xviij.
	Wodecocks	vj.
	Capons of grese	ij.
	Geese ffatt	j.
	Puddings ffyne	viij.
	Cheses	ij.
Mr. Bedingfelde, of Norfolk, esqr.	From Mr. Bedingfelde—	
	Larkes	ij dozen.
	Conyes very ffatt	xviij.
	Duck and mallards	xiij.
	Teeles	vj.
	Plovers	x.
	Fyrkyns of butt[r]	iij.
Mr. Thomas Stoughton, esquyre.	From Mr. Tho. Stoughton, esquyre—	
	Doose ffatt	ij.
	Capons ffatt	x.
	Conyes ffatt	x.
Mr. Tho. Browne, esquyre.	From Mr. Thomas Browne, esquyre—	
	Fesaunts	iiij.
Mr. Fanshawe, esquyr.	From Mr. Fanshawe, esquyre—	
	Hogsheds of wyne	ij.
	Doose ffatt	j.
Mr. Samborne, esquyre.	From Mr. Samborne, esquire—	
	Porkers fatt	j.
	Larks	vj dozen.

[a] This name was applied to several of the varieties of the Sandpiper tribe.

[b] Cygnets.

Mr. Hemwey, esquyre.	From Mr. Hemwey, esquyre—	
	Muske comfetts boxes	j.
Mr. Covert, esquyr.	From Mr. Ric. Covert, esquyr—	
	Doose	j.
	Turkes ffatt	ij.
	Capons ffatt	ij.
	Pyggs	ij.
	Chyckyns grete	xj.
	P'triges	iij.
	Wodecocks	v.
John Elyott.	From John Elyott of Goddallmynge—	
	P'tryges alyve	xiij.
	Snyghts[a]	iiij dozen.
	Wodecocks	iij.
Mr. Edmund Hyll.	From Mr. Hill of Shere—	
	Capons ffatt	iij.
	Wodecocks	v.
	P'triges	j.
Tho. Westdene.	From Tho. Westdene—	
	Conyes ffatt	x.
Mr. Jones.	From Mr. Jones, gent.	
	Doose	ij.
	Muscaden	one runlett of vj gallons and a pottell.
Mr. George Elyott, gent.	From Mr. George Elyott, gent.—	
	P'tryges	xij.
Mr. Weston of Ockham.	Mr. John Weston, gent.—	
	Capons	iiij.
	Wodecocks	vj.
	P'triges	vij.
	Hares	j.
Mr. Walter Creswell, gent.	From Mr. Walt[r] Creswell—	
	Fesants	x.
	Wodecockes	vj.
	P'tryges	xij.
	Doose	j.
	Capons of grese	j.
Mr. Wynston.	From Tho. Winston—	
	Veles grete and ffatt	j.
Mr. Skarlett, gent.	From Mr. Skarlett, gent.—	
	Capons	iiij.
	Doose	ij.

[a] Snipes.

Mr. Ric. Dyngley, gent.
From Mr. Ric. Dyngley, gent.—
P'tryges alyve . . . . . vj.

John Peryer.
From John Peryer—
P'tryges . . . . . ij.
Wodecockes . . . . . j.

John Brodfelde.
From John Brodfelde—
Sugar loves one weing . . . iiij^{li} fyne.

Mr. Ro. Bankes.
From Mr. Ro. Banks, gent.—
Capons ffatt . . . . . iiij.

Ric. Dalton.
From Ric. Dalton—
Wodecocks . . . . . vj.

Mr. Elmes, gent.
From Mr. Elmes, gent.—
Ipocras, gallons . . . . . j.

Underwode, of Katheryn Hill.
From Underwode of Katheryn Hill—
Grete bryde cakes . . . . . j.

Mr. Weston, gent.
From Henry Weston, gent.—
One runlett of sack, gallons . . . . v.

Provicon from Loseley.
Provicon from Loseley—
P'tryges . . . . . xxj.
Chyckyns . . . . . xxx.
Conyes . . . . . xliiij.
Swannes . . . . . j.
Capons . . . . . xxxvj.
Duck and mallards . . . . iij.
Veles ffatt . . . . . ij.
Doose . . . . . j.
Mele, bushells . . . . . xx.
Eggs . . . . . c.iiij^{xx} ij.
Hethcoks . . . . . ij.
Fesaunts . . . . . ij.
Wodecocks . . . . . ij.
Brawners . . . . . ij.

Mr. Knowles, esquyr.
From Mr. Henry Knowles, esquy^{r}—

Peper . .	vj li.	Sugar meane . .	xxiiij li.
Ginger . . .	ij li.	Turne soll . .	j li.
Sinamond . .	j li. di.	Liqueris . .	j li.
Cloves and mase .	j li. di.	Agnes sede[a] . .	j li.
Large mase . .	i qrt.	Isinnglasse . .	ij li.
Nutmeggs . .	di. li.	Jorden almonds .	xij li.
Sugar fyne . .	xvj li.	Damask prunes .	xij li.

[a] Anise seed.

Currans . .	xiili.	Sallad oyle . .	j gallon.
Dates . .	vili.	longe comfyttes .	ijli.
Gum dragagant .	di.li.	Byskett white . .	jli.
Olyves . .	iijli.	Bysketts redd . .	jli.
Fyne capers .	ijli.	Summa vjli. xiijs. viijd. ut patet per bill' percellor.	
Sampere . .	jli.		

Mr. Wilson. From Wilson, my Lord Admyralls mann—
One runlett of Muscaden, gallons . . . iiij.

Robt. Elyott, gent.—
Turkyes . . . . . ij.

Mr. Robt. Creswell. From Mr. Robt. Creswell—
Hogsheds of wyne . . . . . ij.

From Mr. Oneslow—
Hogsheds of wyne . . . . . j.

Mris Polsted. From Mystres Polsted—
Beafs fatte . . . . . j.

Mr. Amersham. From Mr. Amersham—
Turkeyes . . . . . ij.

Mr. Anthonye Stowghton. From my cosen Anthonye Stowghton—
Swans . . . . . j.
Capons . . . . . ij.
Buttere . . . . . viijli.
Quarryes of waxe . . . . . vij.

Mris Pottere. From Mris Pottere—
Capons . . . . . ij.
Buttere . . . . . xvli.

CHARGES SUSTEYNED AT AND CONSERNINGE THE SAIDE MARIAGE.

iij. die Novembr, 1567.
Mondaye. Sparks and Austen.
Paide by Sparks for a qr of mutton . . . xvjd.
Paide for a qr of porke . . . . . xxd.
Paide for a quart of wyne . . . . iiijd.
Paide for a quart of sack . . . . vjd.

Tewsdaye. Turner and Austen.
Paide for vj grete flasketts for ye kychyn . . iiijs. iiijd.
Paide, vj grete treyse . . . . iijs. iiijd.
Paide for viij stone potts, vj stone pannes, and other for the cokes iijs. iiijd.
Paide for a baskett to carye coles . . . iiijd.
Paide for a choppyng knyfe for ye pantrye . . . iiijd.
Exr summa, xvs. vjd.

Wenesdaye.

Paide for vj stone of beffe at xd. a stone . . . iiij s. ix d.
Paide for a q[r] of mutton . . . . xvj d.
Paide for a q[r] of porke . . . . . xx d.
Paide for butter . . . . . v d.
Sparks of Austen xi s. Paide for sawsags . . . . . ij d.
Paide for wyne . . . . . iiij d.
Paide more for wyne to make the gallantyne for the redd dere . iiij d.
Summa ix s.

Thursday.

Paide for iij yerdes of course strayner clothe . . . viij d.
Paide more for one yerde of fyne streyner . . . vj d.
Paide for vj quere of paper for y[e] cokes . . . xviij d.
Paide for ij wooden pestells for stone morters, and a rolling pynn . xij d.
Paide for ij hand peles . . . . . xij d.
Ro. Grene, of Tatnall xx s. Paide more for erthen paynches and potts for the cokes . . ij s.
Paide for ij payr of calves fete . . . . viij d.
Paide for netes fete . . . . . xiiij d.
Of Austen xx s. Paide for ij woden ladells . . . . ij d.
Paide for a boke of golde for y[e] cokes . . . ij s.
Paide for a pottell of white wyne and a quart of clarett for y[e] cokes xij d.
Paide for a quart of muscaden . . . . viij d.
Paide for a pynt of rosewater . . . . xd.
Paide for safferen . . . . . iiij d.
Paide for rice flower . . . . . xij d.
Paide for xij li. grete resons . . . . ij s. vj d.
Paide for merche pane brede ij C . . . . ij s.
Ad huc Ro. Grene. Paide for iiij dozen trenchers . . . . xiiij d.
Paide for di. dozen of plates for lights . . . xij d.
Paide for di. dozen of square plates to sett uppon skrynes . vj d.
Paide for a grete crewse and iiij lesser, to serve in the hall and kychyn . . . . . xij d.
Paide for iij C. j đ of chestnotts . . . . xiij d.

Fryday, not[m] for y[e] accompt.

Paide to Henry Sparks for ffreshe acates the begynning of this wyk x s.
Paide for a pounde of peper to bake the venyson, swann, and turkye . . . . . ij s. viij d.
Paide for iiij li. of butter for y[t] matter . . . xvj d.
Dynner. Paide for one lynge . . . . . xiiij d.
Paide for one salt fyshe . . . . . x d.
Paide for vj whityngs . . . . . vj d.
Ro. Grene. Paide for oysters di. bozell . . . . vj d.
Paide for butter . . . . . xij d.

Supper.	Paide for one lynge	xiiij d.
	Paide for a salt fishe	x d.
	Paide for butter	xij d.
	Paide for xij whityngs	xij d.
	Paide for di. bushell of oysters	vj d.
	Paide for a haddock	vj d.
	Paide for erbes, roses, and musterde	ij d.
	Paide for applesand wardens[a]	iiij d.
	Summa, xlvij s. iij d.	
Debt.	Unde recepit xl s. et sic debet sibi vij s. iij d. sol.	
Austen.	Paide to my mestris, to geve of rewards to Mrs. Jarvis ij men yt brought ye plate and naprye, and for ther bote hire	ij s. vj d.
	Exr summa pag. ij s. vj d.	

Henry Sparks.

Wenesdaye ye v. of November, of Tatnall x s.	Paide for a pece of rostinge befe	xvj d.
	Paide for a qur of porke	xx d.
	Paide for a qur of mutton	xvj d.
	Paide for sawsagis and salletts	iij d.
Thursday, of Ro. Grene x s.	Paide for rostinge befe	xviij d.
	Paide for a loyne of porke	x d.
	Paide for a qur of mutton	xvj d.
	Paide for a sholder of mutton	viij d.
	Paide for sawsages and salletts	iiij d.
Fryday, dynner.	Paide for one lynge and a salt fyshe	ij s. ij d.
	Paide for a dozen of whityngs	xij d.
	Paide for white herings	vj d.
Of Jo. Austen, v s.	Paide for milke and whete[b]	iiij d.
	Paide for butter	xij d.
	Paide for salletts	j d.
Supper.	Paide for a dozen of whitengs	xj d.
	Paide for a haddock	x d.
	Paide for a pyke	xx d.
	Paide for a bote hyre	ij d.

[a] Warden pears

[b] For furmety.

Saterday.

Paide for butter . . . . . xij d.
Paide for mylke and whete . . . . iiij d.
Paide for lynge and salt fyshe . . . . ij s. ij d.
Paide for ij dozen of whitings . . . . xx d.
Paide for a pyke . . . . . xx d.
Paide for bote hyre . . . . . ij d.

Summa per Sparks, xxiiij s. xj d.
So in arrerage to my m^{r}, xiij d.

Sparks.

xiij. die Novemb^{r}, of Mr. Whidden x s.

Paid for di. bushell of fflower . . . . ij s.
Paid for radishe and rotes and endif . . . iiij d.
Paid for eggs . . . . . xij d.

xiiij. die Novemb^{r}.

Paid for a bushell of mele . . . . ij s. iiij d.
For butt^{r} and eggs . . . . . vj d.

Su. vj s. ij d.

So in arrerage uppon this page, iij s. xd.
Summa of all recepts by hym receyved, xlv s.
Summa of all paym^{ts} by hym leide oute, xl s. id.

Debt by Henry Sparke.

So due of arrerage to my m^{r}, iiij s. xj d.

Saterday, 8° die Novemb^{r}.

John Austen.

Paid for a q^{r} of befe, a breste, and a surlyne, weing xxvij stone di. at viij d. a stone . . . . . xviij s. x d.
Paid to two porters for carying of y^{t} befe from Leden Hall to the Fryers . . . . . viij d.
Paid for a stock lock for the vawte dore . . . x d.
Paid for di. C. of iiij d. nayles . . . . j d. ob.
Paid for di. C. of vj d. nayles . . . . ij d. ob.
Paid for an iron bolte for the windo betwene the garden and the cole house . . . . . iiij d.
Paid for two plates for y^{t} bolte . . . . iij d.

Ex^{r} su. xxj s. iij d.

Paid to a carr^{r} for carying of two lodes of kychen stoffe . viij d.
Paid to Henry Walt^{r}, for the chaundeler for xij lb. of candells at ijd. ob. y^{e} li. . . . . ij s. vj d.
Paid to two laborers for one dayes work in clensyng the garden . xx d.

Sparks.

Paide to Mr. Whidden for so moche by hym paide to Harry Sparkes for ffreshe acates . . . . xv s.

	Paide to hym for so moche by hym paide to two laborers for one after none	xd.
	Paide to hym for so moche by hym laid out for bromes .	ijd.
Grene.	Paide to Rob^{t} Grene the ixth of Novemb^{r} uppon a reconyng .	xs.
	Paide to Wynston's man of reward, for bringing of one vele .	ijs. vjd.
ij. remayning.	Paide for vj lynks	xxd.
ij. remayning.	Paide for vj staffe torches	vs. xd.
	Paide to the watermen for ij botes to bringe your servants and stuffe from Lambeth to the Fryers	viijd.
	Paid to y^{e} skaveng^{r}, for carying away the soyle lying at your conduct hedd gate, caryed out of yo^{r} garden . . .	ijs.
Remayning.	Paide for a rape for the pantrye	viijd.
Monday 10 die Novemb^{r}.	Paide to Thomas Tatnall, towards the payment for one lode of coles	xs.
	Ex^{r} su. pag. xlix s. ijd.	
Mr. Polsted.	Payde for the wedding ringe makinge, and for ixd. in golde added to the ringe	iiijs.
	Paide to Mr. Secretory Sicell's man y^{t} brought y^{e} doo, for reward	vs.
	Paide to Mr. Covert's man for the lyke . . .	iijs iiijd.
Johan Horley.	Paide to Mother Horley, for C. of eggs, &c. . . .	ivs.
	Paide for turnypps, white endyff, and other . .	iiijd.
	Paide to Golde the caryer, of reward for carying of ffowle sent by Mr. Balam, ov^{r} and above ijs. by you geven unto hym .	iijs.
	Paide for a dozen of cotten candell iijd. and a dozen of wyke candell ijd. qu. by Thom^{s} Tatnall	vs. iijd.
	Paide for two gallons of mylke xijd. and a gallon of creme xvjd	ijs. iiijd.
	Paide to Grace Trevethen, wido, one of the wemen washers of pewter, for two dayes & more	viijd.
	Paide for an other grete stone cruse for y^{e} kychyn, because the first was broken at the conduct in ffilling of John Turner's tankerde	vjd.
	Paide to a porter, for carying of two firkyns of butt^{r} sent by Mr. Bedingfelde	iiijd.
	Ex^{r} su. pag. xxviij s. ix d.	
Austen.	Paide to Mr. Benyngfelde's man y^{t} brought y^{e} foule, ov^{r} and above iij s. iiij d. w^{ch} you sent unto hym, not knowing that he came alone aft^{r} his master	xxd.
Ro. Grene.	Paide to Ro. Greene for freshe acates . . .	xs.
	Ex^{r} su. xj s. viij d.	

Qd. postea. Paid to Mr. Betham, goodmā of the St. Jone's Hedd w^th^in y^e^ Ludgate, for vj gallons and a pottell of Muscaden, at ij s. and vj d. a gallon . . . . . xvj s. iij d.

x d. for the rundlett . . . . . x d.

Debt paide. Paide to hym for so moche French wyne, at xvj d. a gallon viij s. viij d.

Paide to hym for a rundlett . . . . x d.

Paide ut pt. postea. Paide to Mr. Morgayne, for ffyve poundes of suger ov^r^ and above y^e^ bill of parcells . . . . . v s.

Paide to hym for ij gallons of Ipocras, after v s. viij d. a gallon, fett by Twyforde . . . . xj s. iiij d.

Qd. postea. Paide of reward to y^e^ cokes for delyveryng and taking in of the broches, potts, awndyrons, and other stuff borowed for y^e^ kychyn . . . . . vj s.

Austen. Paide to Rob^t^ Grene, for so moche due unto hym uppon the fote of his accompt . . . . . vij s. iij d.

Paide for two boxes of rounde wafers, at ii s. a boxe . . iiij s.

Paide to Rob^t^ Grene xx s. for the w^ch^ he hath made his accompt before . . . . . xx s.

Not^m^ for his arrerage. Paide to Henry Sparks, for y^e^ w^ch^ he hath made his accompt before . . . . . xv s.

Ex^r^ su. xlvj s. iij d.

Summa pag. lvij s. xj d.

Austeu. Paide to John Colde, for iiij sacks of coles at vij d. a sack . ij s. iiij d.

Paide for vj sacks of coles taken in by Mr. Wytton, at vij d. a sacke iij s. vj d.

Paide to the pewterer for mending thre pewt^r^ candelstycks, whose noses was burned of at the scowrynge . . . xij d.

Paid to Richard Barowe, mason, for one dayse work and more in mending the synk and leing the pavement, and in whitlymyng and mending the p'lor selings and my Lady Saunder's wall, and for ii hodds of lyme . . . . . xviij d.

Item. For mending Sir Henry Nevell's oven, and for clensyng the waye towards the house and thorowe the churcheyerde vi d. and mete and drink.

Ex^r^ sum. viij s. x d.

vj s. debt paide. Due unto the ale bruer, Mr. Anthony Hykmote, for one kylkerkyn of stronge ale iiij s. one kylderkyn of small ale, cont. xviii gallons and a pottell, ii s.; sum . . . . vj s.

Thomas Coke, Austeu. Delyverd to Thomas Coke for the dispach of his caryage by water to Kyngston, by way of lone . . . . xs.

Ex^r^ su. pag. xs.

Paide.

Due unto the bruer, Mr. Platt, berebruer, for two barrells of stronge bere, after the rate of viij s. the barrell . . xvj s.

Item, due to hym for viij barrells of doble bere, after the rate of iiij s the barrell . . . . . xxxij s.

liiij s. ix d.

Due unto the baker, Mr. Grene, for liiij doz^{n} of brede and ix^{d}, del^{d} in syns the iij day of this Novemb. 1567 . . liiij s. ix d.

Launde the bocher.

An accompt made the xv day of Novemb. 1567, betwene Mr. More and Mr. Lawnde, bocher, in St. Nycholas Shambells—

Lawnde y^{e} bocher.

First, delyvered unto hym x wether shepe . . . x.

Item, to his man for killing of them . . . xx d.

Item, for l li. of swete sewett, at ij d. ob. a li. . . xs. v d.

Summa, xij s. j d.

Whereof receyved of Mr. Lawnde for the x fells of those shepe, after the rate of xvj d. every fell . . xiij s. iiij d.

So due to Mr. More xv d. paide to Austen.

Thaccompt of Mr. Whitton, gent. viz.—

Mr. Wytton, paide yo^{r} selfe, not accompted for by Sparks.

Fyrst, del^{d} to me, John Austen . . . . xx s.

Item, to Henry Sparks . . . . . vj s.

Item, for cordes and lynes used in the larder . . . xiiij d.

Item, for ij erthen pannes . . . . iiij d.

Paide by yo^{r} selfe ut pt. p^{r} billam.

For karying of ij ferkyns of butter . . . iiij d.

Paide to iij laborers in y^{e} kychyn for iij dayes, at viij d. per diem . iiij s.[a]

More to one scalder of fowle for vi dayes, at viij d. per diem . iiij s.

Item, other laborers for vj dayes, at vj d. per diem . . iij s.

More to one other laborer for ij dayes . . . xij d.

Sum' xxxix s. ix d.

Saterday, xv. die Novemb^{r}, for dynner.

Di. lynge . . . . . xij d.

A salt fyshe . . . . . xij d.

xij whittings . . . . . xx d.

xxiiij white herings . . . . . xx d.

Paide by yo^{r} selfe ut pat. per billam.

For oysters . . . . . ij d.

For butter . . . . . xij d.

For este[b] and eggs . . . . . vj d.

Sum' vij s. . . 46 s. ij d.

[a] *Sic.* [b] Yeast.

Mother Horley.

Johan Horley prayth to have allowans for dyvers things by her bought as by ij severall bills exibited the xiiij of Novemb. 1567.

xv. die Novembris 1567.

Debt.

Uppon which two bills exhibited the xiiij of Novemb. there is due unto her over and above iiij s. paide unto her by John Austen, and xs. by Tatnall, as apereth in the fote of one of the saide bills . . . . . xxiiijs. vjd.

Item, due to her for her wages for one q^r^ of a yere fully ended at Mychelmas last, 1567 . . . . . xs.

Summa totalis, xxxiiijs. vjd.

Olde debt, as aperith in y^e^ accompt of Johan Horley, exibited the xvj. of July, 1567.
Dett.

Item, due to the bere bruer for bere, dld. xls. w^h^ xl s. was paide in golde, and because the golde was so light it was repayde . xls.

Item, due to the same bruer for two barrells of bere in Ester terme, 1567 . . . . . viijs.

Austen and Grene, Sunday the xvj^i^. of Novemb. 1567.

Sonday dynner.

Paide by Robt. Grene p̄nt for a surloyne of befe to roste . ijs. iiijd.

Paid by hym for a fore quarter of vele . . . iijs.

Ro. Grene.

Sonday supper.

Paide for a dozen of larkes	xijd.
For ij lb. of butter	viijd.
For eggs	iiijd.
For frute	iiijd.
For salletts and rotes	ijd.
For sawsags	ijd.
For a cople of rabatts	viijd.

Ex^r^ su. viijs. viijd.

Paide of rewarde for the havinge of dyvers things belonging to the kychyn in the p'ns[a] of H. Walter . . . vjs.

Paide to a carma' for ij lodes caryage to the house . . viijd.

Ex^r^ sum. vjs. viijd.

Debt.
Mr. Wynston, taken out of his barge.

Wode and cole.

Due to Thomas Wynston, for one thousand of byllett.
Item, for one C. of chamb^r^ faggatt.
Item, iiij lode of tall wode.
Item, two C. of chamb^r^ fagatts.
Item, di. thousand of byllett.
Item, one C. of chamb^r^ ffaggatt.

[a] Presence.

From Theamse wharffe, fett here because there wolde not delyver any more than as aforsaid.
Paide.

Item, due to Mr. Fermer, for one thousand and thre quarters of a thousand billett at xs. viijd. the thousand, as apereth uppon the store . . . . . xviijs. viijd.
Item, due to hym for two hundred and di. of chamb^{r} fagotts, at iiijs. the hondred ; somme . . . . . xs.

Robt. Grene.
Paide.

Paide to Rob^{t} Grene, for one legg of pork . . . xd.
Paide for a cople of rabbetts . . . . xd.
Paide for aples and medlers . . . . ijd.

Ex^{r} summa totalis of the receipts receyved by me John Austen, vli. vijs. vjd.
Ex^{r} summa totalis of money by me disbursed and leide out, xli. ixs. iijd.
Ex^{r} so due unto me uppon this accompt, vl. xxjd.

Item, leide ont by you for one hoggeshed of Gascon wyne spent at y^{e} maryage.
Item, dyvers rewards paide by you and by my mesteris not mentioned in this boke.
Due to dyvers p'sons, as doth before apere, besydes Mr. Wynston, and besyde xlvjs. ixd. p^{d} to Mr. Whitton as before . xiijli. xjs. jd.

Robt. Grene.

Things bonght by Grene for your provicon against Cristmas.

lvj. li. Grete resons of the sonn lvjli. after ijd. ob. . . . . xjs.
xx. li. Prunes, the best, xxli. after iijd. . . . . vs.
xiiij. li. Currans, the best, xiiijli. after iij d. qr. & amplius . . iiijs.
xj. li. qr. Sugar, fyne, xjli. qr. at ixd. ob. . . . . viijs. xd.
di. li. Synamone, di. li. . . . . iijs.
di. li. Cloves, di. li. . . . . iijs. iiijd.
One dozen of gloves . . . . . xs.
One other dozen of gloves . . . . vs.
iij dozen of gloves at iijs. a dozen . . . ixs.
iiij dozen knyves at iii s. a dozen . . . . xijs.
One dozen knyves . . . . . iiijs.

Ex^{r} sum^{a} iijli. xvs. ijd.

Wherof receyved of you at the Black Fryers . xxxiijs. iiijd.

Debt paide by my selfe.

Ex^{r} so due to Rob^{t}. Grene, uppon this accompt, xljs. xd.

Debt paid by my self.

Leide out more by the saide Rob^{t} Grene as foloweth:—

Saterday. First for whete and mylke . . . . . vjd.
Tewsday. For a legge and a loyne of porcke . . . . xxijd.
For one conye . . . . . vd.
For aples . . . . . ijd.

For butter . . . . . ijd
For eggs . . . . . iiijd.
For rape sede di. peck . . . . . xd.
Wenesday. For buttr and eggs . . . . . vid.
For C. orings sent to Loseley . . . . xd.
Sum[a], vs. vijd.

xvij die Novembr, 1567.

Mr. Morgan, potticary. Mem. all things reconed, allowed, and clerely paide betwene Mr. More and Mr. Polsted, esqyer, and Mr. Morgan, grocer, due by Mr. More ovr and above v li. paide by Mr. Polsted for a clere reconing touching the dyett of Mr. Polsted and of Mrs. Eliz. More, nowe his wyfe, there doth rest and remayne due to Mr. Morgayne, for grossery wares delyvered to Mr. More, and by Mr. More to be paide . . . ixli. vs. iijd.

Mr. Morgayne.[a]

Mem. due to Mr. Morgan, grocer, to be payed of Mr. More, esquire, the some of ixli. vs. iiid. of an olde reckoninge.

iijd die Novembr, 1567. Money receyved by me, John Austen, at the Black Fryers in London, viz.—
Converted into Muscaden. Of Mr. Jones, for tenn gallons of Renyshe wyne, at xxd. a gallon xvjs. viijd.
Of hym for a runlett for the same . . . . xd.
Rewarde. Rd of my mr to paye the caryers of Norf. yt brought the swan'es, cranes, and other grete foule from Mr. Balam xiijs. iiijd. not paide
Rd also of my mr to pay to John Crefelde, Mr. Balam's man, for brynging of the smaller fowle . . . xiijs. iiijd. paide
Rd also of my mr to pay to Ric. Tayler, Mr. Beddingfelde's man, for the brynging of wildfoule, &c. . . iijs. iiijd. paide
Rd by the hands of Thomas Morris, of Petworth, in parte of payment of his arerage rent due at Michelmas last for one half yere then fully ended . . . . . xls.
Rd of Mr. Whyddon . . . . . xxs.
Summa, v li. vijs. vjd. accompted for before.

xv. die Novembr, 1567. Rd of Mr. Lawnde bocher, in St. Nycholas Shambells, for the debet uppon his accompt for ye x wether shepe yt were delyvered unto hym . . . . . xvd.
Rd more of you the xvij daye of Novembr . . . vjli.
xvij die Novembr. 1567. Receyved of Mr. Morgayne, in abatement of his bill, viz. for olyves iijli. xvd. for sampere i li. vjd. for sallad oile j gallon iiijs. viijd. vjs. vd.

[a] A memorandum pinned on.

R^d of you also to pay to Thomas Coke, for his reward ov^r and above xs. before p^d . . . . . xls.

18 Novemb. Rec^d of you more . . . . . iiij li.

Su. xj li. vij s. viij d.

Sum. pag. xvj li. xv s. ij d.

P'cell of viij. li. receyved this xvij. of November. Item, of iij. li. vij s. viij. d. more.

Paide to Mr. Morgayne, groser, for v li. of suger . . v s.
For perfumes . . . . . vj d.
For ij gallons of Ipocras at v s. viij d. . xj s. iiij d. fett by Twiford.
For a q^r of cap's . . . . . iij d.
For olyves . . . . . v d.
For a pynt of sallett oyle . . . . . xd.

Summa, xviij s. iiij d.

Paid to Mr. Jakson, of Bredstret, pewterer, for thre garnyshe of pewter vessell rough as apereth uppon his bill, after the rate of xd. for the hire of every garnishe . ij s. vj d. Mrs. Packington.
Paide to hym for the hyre of thre dozen ffrute dishes, weing xlvj li. after the rate of a peny the li. . iij s. xd. Mrs. Pagington.
Paide to Mrs. Pagyngton for one newe table napkyn for one of Mr. Jarvis, w^ch was lost . . . . . ij s. iiij d.
Paide to Ann Vaughan, wydowe, one of the washers and scowrers, for viij dayes, aft^r iiij d. by the daye . . . ij s. viij d.
Paide to Elizabeth Chaundeler, for tenn days, after iiij d. per die' iij s. iiij d.
Paide to Mother Gryffen for v dayes after iiij d. p' die' . . xxd.
Paide for ij li. of weke candells of ij d. qr. the li. . . iiij d. ob.
Paide for j lb. of cotten candell . . . . iij d.
Paide unto Thom^s Cordry of reward, ov^r and above xs. before resited xls.
Paid to Mrs. Elizabethe Norse, for one daye scowring . . iiij d.
Paide to Mr. Grene the baker . . . . liiij s.

6 li. 9s. 7d. Ex^r sum^a pag. vi li. ix s. vij d. ob.

9 li. 3s. 7d. Paide to Mr. Hykmote, ale bruer, ffor a barrell of ale . . vj s.
Paide to Mr. Platt, the bere bruer . . . xlviij s.
Paide to Rob^t Grene xxij d. before resyted, and viij d. for his bote hyre to and from Lambeth to call agayne, Serche and Aunsell, w^h were sent home . . . . . ij s. vj d.
Item, for mylke and whete, uppon Saterday last, the xv of Novemb^r vj d.
Item, for eggs for collopps & eggs . . . iiij d.
Item, for aples . . . . . j d.
Item, for mustord and otemele . . . . j d.

At the Saynt John's Hedd. Item, paide to Mr. Betham, taverner, for ij rundletts aforesaid, ov^r and above xxd. before resyted . . . . iiij d.

Paide more to hym for vj gallons and a pottell of Muscaden, at ij s. & vj d. the gallon . . . . xvj s. iiij d.
Paide to hym for vj gallons and a pottell of French wyne . viij s. viij d.
Item, for the two runletts . . . . xx d.
Paide to L. Stoughton, for iij lb. of candells . . . vij d. ob.
Paid to L. Stoughton, for bote hyre to & from Mr. Jarvis . xvj d.
Tewsday supp. For two sawsags . . . . . ij d.
Paide to Mr. Fermer, wodemonger, for a M and iii qrs. of billetts, at xs. viij d. the thousand . . . xviij s. viij d.
Paide to hym for ij C. di. of chamb^{r} faggotts, at iiij s. the C.; su. xs.
Paide to hym more for one q^{r} of billetts, fett this xviij day of Novemb^{r}, 1567 . . . . . ij s. viij d.

Ex^{r}. summa, vli. xvij s. xj d. ob.

xvij. die Novemb^{r}, 1567. Ex^{r} summa totalis of my last recepts syns the first accompt xj li. vij s. viij d.
Ex^{r} summa of payments made uppon y^{t} recept . xij li. vij s. vij d.
Ex^{r} so due to me uppon this accompt . . xix s. xj d.
Item, due unto me uppon my form^{r} accompt . . v li. xxj d.

Ex^{r} summa totalis, vj li. xx d.

Item, due unto me for so moche payde to Creffelde, Mr. Balam's man, f^{r} carying of foule, whereof I have charged my self in my recepts, and have not asked allowans for yt . xiij s. iiij d.
Item, due unto me for the lyke paide to Richard Tayler, Mr. Beddingfelde's man . . . . iij s. iiij d.
So due unto me, John Austen, uppon this accompt . vj li. xviij s. iiij d.
The payments . . . . xxij li. xvj s. x d.
The recepts . . . . . xvj li. xv s. ij d.
So dewe . . . . . vj li. xx d.
Item, dewe more . . . . xvj s. viij d.
So dewe to John Austen . . . vij li. xviij s. iiij d.
Mem. the freshe acates, wyne, and other thyngs that were geven me as aforesayd, were well worth . . . C. marks.
Item, all the provycon I browght from home was well worth xx marks.

Fatte swans . . . . . xvj.
Turkye coks . . . . . viij.
Cranes . . . . . ix.
Hernshows . . . . . v.
Curlews . . . . . j.
Bytters . . . . . xvj.
Knots . . . . . iiij dozen iiij.

Stynts	vij dosen di.
Godwyts	xxij.
Partryges	cviij.
Plovers basted	ix dosen x.
Teales	xxxvj.
Woodcoks	xl.
Fesauntes	xix.
Hayres	ij.
Larkes	lviij dosen.
Snytes	iiij dosen.
Hethecoks	ij.
Hyndes	j.
Dose	xiij.
Muttons	x.
Beafs	j.
Porkers	j.
Veales	iij.
Brawns	ij.
Capons	iij^{xx} xiij.

(Endorsed)--For the mariag of Elyzabethe More, my dowght^{r}, 1567.

Mr. More, the 15 of Merche, vij gall. of C. fett by Thomas Tatnall ixs. iiijd.
A lytle ringe left in gage.

(2nd Endorsement)
Roben Ansell is a knave.

V. *On a Vase representing an Adventure of Perseus.*

By Samuel Birch, *Esq. F.S.A.*

Read 25 May, 1854.

The Vase, of which a tracing is laid before the Society, has been described in the Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Museum, although its subject could not at the time be made out, and the present memoir must be considered as an attempt to interpret its meaning, a task rendered the more difficult as there is not any distinct mention of the subject by the classical writers, and it is one transmitted only by the artists of Greece. It occurs on one of the hundred select vases presented by the late Prince of Canino to Cardinal Fesch, and subsequently ceded by the possessors to the British Museum. The Vase is of the shape called hydria or calpis, ornamented with red figures upon a black background, and its style is that usually known as the commencement of the decadence of the fictile art. It has no inscription, unfortunately, to aid in its decipherment. It was found in the sepulchres of the ancient Vulci.[a]

Before entering on the discussion of the motive of the painting, it is necessary to consider succinctly the Perseid, or the series of the adventures of the hero Perseus in regard to art, in which, whether plastic or graphic, it has been perpetually reproduced from the earliest dawn of Greek sculpture, painting, or inlaying.

This Argive tradition had attracted the earliest attention of artists, from its highly poetic and artistic nature, from the connection which the myth had with the earliest families and genealogies of the royal lines, and from the mysterious links by which it connected the Hellenic, the Asiatic, and Libyan races. In the course of time it had become so blended with the legends of all the principal races, and renowned for having exercised the skill of distinguished artists, that a host of reproductions are found on coins, gems, and objects of inferior size and nature, and it had assumed the character of a normal subject. Hesiod had described in poetic imagery the flight of Perseus through the air to surprise the Gorgons, as seen on the shield of a still greater demigod, the all-renowned

[a] Cat. Vas. Brit. Mus. 801.

Hercules; and the celebrated chest of Cypselus, and the throne of Bathycles at Amyclæ, numbered this story among their subjects. It is seen amidst the metopes of the oldest of the Selinuntine temples, and it only disappears with the fall of art itself, on the coins of Argos, struck in the reign of Valerian.

It is not necessary to recite once more the story in its details, for with these all are sufficiently familiar; but merely to point out the chief points seen in ancient art, such as the confinement of Danaë in her brazen,[a] iron,[b] or marble[c] chamber, and the descent of the golden shower of the metamorphosed Zeus through the roof[d] or window,[e] a subject not found at an early period, but only on the Pompeian mural paintings and certain Roman gems,[f] in which, however, the artists have departed from the traditions which have reached us, as Danaë is surprised by the fall of the shower in her garden,[g] Zeus sending down the auriferous shower from his hands, or Cupid from an amphora.[h] Yet this part of the myth appears to have been part of the tragedies of Sophocles,[i] if it did not form that of the Danaë of the trilogy of Æschylus.[k] Acrisius measuring the chest,[l] and the arrival of Danaë

[a] Horat. Carm. iii. 16, makes her guarded by dogs. Eudocia (Villoison, Anecd. Græc.), 4to. Venet. 1781, p. 334, places her in a brazen chamber under the hall. Zenob. Cent. i. 41. Homer Il. xiv. 317, 318, Schol. This may be compared to the brazen vessel in which Mars was imprisoned, Iliad v. 387, and the Schol. Pseudo-Didym. ad eund. According to the Cypria it meant a prison.

[b] Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838.

[c] Hygin. fab. lxiii. muro lapideo. Eudocia, Violar. 4to. Venez. 1781, p. 334.

[d] *διά τινος ὄπης.* Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838. Terent. Eunuch. iii. 36, 37. Sophocl. ii. 200. Eratosth. Cat. 16, Schol. ad Ajac. init. The subject occurs on a Vase, Arch. Zeit. 1845, s. 285, engraved by M. Gerhard, Danaë, 4to. Berl. 1854.

[e] Lucian, Mar. dial. ix. 12, *εἰς χαλκοῦν τινα θάλαμον*; and Zeus, *χρυσὸν γενόμενον ῥυῆναι διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐπ' αὐτήν.*

[f] Gori, M. pl. i. lvi. 4.

[g] Mus. Borb. ii. xxxvi. Coinciding with the turris *septa* (Claudian in Eutrop. i. 82); *aerata* (Propert. ii. xvi. 12); and *ahenea* (Horat. l. c.) The other picture in Mus. Borb. xi. li. is also Danaë (R. Rochette, l. c. p. 191).

[h] Mus. Borb. xi. xxi.

[i] Sophocles, 8vo. Lond. 1824, a Brunck, ii. p. 193, fragments of the Akrisios or Larissæans. Cf. Schol. ad Sophocl. Ajac. init. et Antigone, 944.

ἔτλα καὶ Δανάας οὐράνιον φῶς
ἀλλάξαι δέμας ἐν χαλκοδέτοις
αὐλαῖς· κρυπτομένα δ' ἐν
τυμβήρει θαλάμῳ κατεξεύχθη.

[k] Welcker supposes that the Danaë, Phorcydes, and Polydectes formed a trilogy. Apollod. ii. 4, 1. Æschylus in Didot's Classics, 4to. Paris, 1846, p. 244.

[l] Either the *λάρναξ*, or *κιβωτὸς*, or *κιβώτιον*, of wood, according to all versions except Schol. ad Antig.

and her son at Seriphos,[a] which had been immortalized by the threne or dirge of Simonides,[b] occur on two vases with red figures,[c] of about the same epoch and style, on which Danaë is represented either nailed in the chest by the servants[d] of Acrisius, or else opening it to issue forth after landing at Seriphos,[d] which is alone found on a mural painting[e] of Pompeii, where Danaë having issued from the chest suckles Perseus in presence of Dictys and Polydectes; probably a copy of the picture of Artemon,[f] the subject of the Danaë, or the Dictys of Euripides.[g] The analogy of this adventure to that of Semele, Auge, Hemithea, Deucalion, and Rhoio, has not escaped observation;[h] but such portions of the story as the hero brought up in the temple of Athene, or the fatal entertainment at which Polydectes extorts from him the promise of the Gorgon's head, have probably not exerted the artists' skill, as they could not easily be distinguished from similar subjects. Nor can the meeting of Perseus and Hermes at Seriphos be found, and the real cycle of his adventures commences with the departure to find the Gorgons.

It is according to the arguments of the plays of the earliest dramatists that the Argive hero proceeds, by the advice of Athene, and under the guidance of Hermes, to seek the Graiæ,[i] or as they are sometimes called the old women of Phorcys, whose marine nature is shown by their descent from that primæval god and Ceto, and who are placed at the lake Tritonis, near the garden of the Hesperides. Such at least was the subject of the tragedy of the Phorcydes[k]

948. In Lucian, Marin. dial. ix. 14, Doris and Thetis send the box into the nets of the fisherman. The Italian tradition (Serv. Virg. Æn. vii. 372) makes them arrive in Italy (cf. ibid. viii. 345), connecting them with Ardea and Argiletum. See the vase, Annali, 1847, pl. M. supposed by Panofka, ib. p. 226, to be Theas.

[a] Mus. Borb. ii. xxx. 4. M. Panofka, in Arch. Zeit. 1846, s. 206, p. l.—the *ball* Perseus holds in his hands is supposed to be the diskos, but it rather indicates his being three or four years of age. Pherecyd. Fragm. Sturz, p. 72; R. Rochette, p. 191, however, has overlooked that Perseus was detected by the noise he made at *play*. Eudocia, l. c.

[b] Simonidis cei. Fragm. a Schneidewin, p. 67. Welcker, Æschyl. Tril. p. 380.

[c] Mus Borb. l. R. Rochette, Choix de Peint. p. 181. M. Campana, in Bull. 1845, p. 214-18.

[d] Eudocia, l. c. [e] Raoul Rochette, Choix de Peintures, pl. 15, p. 179.

[f] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. xi. 40.

[g] Welcker, die Griech Trag. t. ii. p. 668, 674. Cf. Id. die Æschyl. Trilog. 378, for the version of Apollodorus being taken from Pherecydes. Anthol. Palat. a Jacobs, xiii. p. 632. Euripid. Fragm. ix. pp. 139, 140.

[h] Rochette, Choix, p. 178, has remarked them all except Rhoio, who, seduced by Apollo, was thrown by her father Staphylus, in a box, into the sea. Eudocia in Villoison, l. c. pp. 371, 372.

[i] Eudocia Violarium, l. c. 334. Parœmiographi Veteres a Gaisford, p. 240. In Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838, they lead him to the nymphs.

[k] Æschylus, 8vo. Paris, 1846, p. 244. Faehse, Sylloge, 8vo. Lips. 1813, p. 53, 792 (790). Hygin. Poet. Astr. ii. xii. They guarded the golden apples of the Hesperides, Heraclit. de Incred. 13.

of Æschylus. These goddesses, either two or three in number, are described with dogs' heads, and eyes placed in their breasts, according to one tradition, but as "swan-like" or "swan-shaped" in the Prometheus Bound of the Tragedian. One vase of the earliest style[a] seems to represent them as birds with human heads (like the Sirens or the Harpies), and the arrival of Perseus at their habitations; and it is possible that certain earlier vases, in which a female is seen holding two swans,[b] or on which a swan appears in connection with a god like a giant of anguiform appearance,[c] may intend to convey the idea of these weird sisters. From the Graiæ the literary myths make him go to the Nymphs, the artistic ones to the Naiads or nymphs of the lake Tritonis, from whom he receives the helmet of Hades, the kibisis or wallet, and the talaria or winged sandals.[c] Such at least is the form in which this action appears on a vase[d] in the British Museum found at Cære, and of the earliest style. This subject was represented in the metopes or frieze of the Chalcoikos or brazen shrine of Athene Poliouchos at Sparta, the work of Gitiadas, who flourished B. C. 514.[e] Other versions made him receive the helmet and talaria from Hermes.[f] On the early monuments the helmet of Hades is like the petasus of Hermes, and the sandals are winged, but in many other works of art, such as mirrors and gems, the talaria are represented as wings, which he attaches to his feet.[g] According to some versions he receives his equipment from Hermes himself; which however is not as yet found represented, and the Naiads or nymphs of the pools appear the most suitable providers of the sandals, although their connection with Hades and Hermes is difficult to interpret. He had yet to receive the harpé or harpoon, an incident only found on works of the later period of art. According to the argument of the Phorcydes[h] this weapon, made of adamant, he obtained from Hephaistos, but on the monuments hitherto known it appears as the gift of Athene.[i] This probably refers to the tradition in which he

[a] Panofka, Perseus und die Gräa. 4to. Berl. 1847. Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. xxxvi.

[b] Micali, Ant. Mon. 17; No. 5, 78; No. 1, 46; No. 17. Müller, Denkm. 282 b. Cf. these figures with the Medusa holding two lions, and the swans in the scene of the death of the Medusa. Micali, Ant. Mon. tav. 22. Müller, l. c. 280.

[c] Apollod. ii. 4, 2. Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838.

[d] Cat. Vas. Brit. Mus., No. 584, p. 138. Arch. Zeit. 1847, 24*.

[e] Pausanias, III. c. xvii. s. 3. Winckelman, Opp. vi. i. 2, 23, sq.

[f] Eratosthenes, Catast. c. 22. Hygin. Poet. Astron. ii. 12.

[g] Scarabæus with his name ΦΕΔΣΕ (P'herse). Lanzi, Saggio II. iv. n. 5. Millin, Gal. Myth. xcv. 38, ii. p. 5.

[h] Hygin. Poet. Astr. ii. xii. Eratosth. Catast. c. 22.

[i] Gargiulo, Raccolta dei Monumenti piu interessanti del R. Museo Borbonico di Napoli. tav. 122. Inghirami, Vas. Fitt. cclxvi. De Witte, Cat. Dur. 242, Brit. Mus. 1303. O. Jahn, Ann. 1851. Tav. agg. O.

is exhorted to the enterprise by Athene and not by the orders of Polydectes. In some authors, such as Apollodorus, he receives the harpé from Hermes, and the mirror from Athene,[a] alluding to this goddess drawing the form of the monster in the Deicterion at Samos, and shewing it to the youthful hero.[b] On one mirror Athene traces the head of a Gorgon on the ground.[c] His departure to destroy the Gorgon is seen on these monuments, on which he flies thus equipped.[d] Great difference prevails both in literature and art as to the place where the Gorgons are located, whether close to the gardens of the Hesperides near the Lake Tritonis,[e] or else on the banks of Ocean near the Iberian Tartessus,[f] dwelling in gloomy caverns.[g] The sleep of the Gorgons is found on a bronze in the Museum at Naples, where they occur in company with their marine cognates the Tritons.[h]

The actual destruction of the mortal Medusa has been the subject of so many works of art that it will require some time to enumerate them in detail. The first of these, the shield of Hercules, so elaborately described by Hesiod,[i] and the Cypria, rather designed to convey an idea of the capabilities of the Toreutic art than to describe an existing monument, had on it the figure of Perseus chased in gold, in very high relief. The hero, wearing the winged sandals, had the sword, in an iron scabbard (not the renowned harpé), made of brass, and suspended from his belt. He flew through the air carrying the head of the Medusa in the kibisis or wallet, which was made of silver, and he held the kibisis by golden thongs or strings. On his head was the helmet of Hades. The Gorgons pursued him, girdled with serpents, and, although not described, it is possible to restore them as having golden wings, brazen hands, and ivory teeth.[k]

The selection of this emblem appears to have been suggested on account of the

[a] Schol. ad Lyc. 17. Cf. Lucian, Marin. Dialog. ix. 14, ἆθλον τινα τοῦτον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπιτελῶν as an act of gratitude to Polydectes.

[b] Apollod. Biblioth. l. c. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 838. Cf. the vase, Ann. 1851; T. N. 1850, A.

[c] Dempster, Etr. Reg. ii. 4. Guigniaut, clxi. 610.

[d] Cf. Koehler, Gesammelt. Schrift. Th. i. s. 151. Winckelman, Mon. Ant. In. s. 151, tav. 84, c. 3, p. 112. D'Hancarville, iv. p. 23, Pl. XIII. f. 1. Lanzi, Saggio ii. pp. 3, 45, 46, tav. viii. f. 6. Stosch, Abdr. 41, 406. Tolkien, Verzeichniss, s. 38, No. 47.

[e] Eudocia Violarium, l. c.

[f] Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838.

[g] Æschylus, 8vo. Paris, 1846, p. 244. Eustath. p. 1872-3. Athen. xi. 402. Bekker, Anecd. p. 457, 21.

[h] Neapels Ant. Bildw. B. i. s. 235.

[i] Scut. Herc. 216. It appears that the word κίβισις was derived from the Cypria. Hesychius, voce. Herod. vi. 23. Meursius, Cypr. p. 17.

[k] Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838.

relationship between Hercules and Perseus, in the same sense as Phrixus on the ram was engraved on the tunic of Jason,[a] Io on the calathus of Europa,[b] and Argus, Io, and Inachus on the shield of Turnus.[c] The emblem on the shield of Achilles, described in the Electra of Euripides, was Perseus in company with Hermes flying over the sea to the Gorgons.[d] On the quiver of Philoctetes the hero was seen killing the Medusa in the west, on the shores of Ocean.[e] On the celebrated chest of Cypselus Perseus was represented flying through the air to escape the pursuit of the awakened Gorgons, Stheno and Euryale;[f] and the incident of the death of the Gorgon occurred on the throne of Apollo at Amyclæ, made by Bathycles.[g] On the ancient works of art the Gorgons are always represented terrible, clad in short tunics, sometimes with the skins of animals, wearing winged boots, and with wings attached to their form. One monument alone of these represents the Medusa as a centaur holding a lion;[h] all the others make her human. One of the oldest appearances of the mythos is that on the metope on the old temple, in the middle of the ancient Selinus, treated in the Doric style of art, and proto-Æginetic in its details. Perseus here wears a pilos without wings, but his boots or sandals are provided with the recurved wings in front. With his left hand he holds a lock of the Gorgon's hair, while with his right he plunges the harpé into her throat. She has fallen on her left knee, and holds a horse of small size with her arms. Athene, draped as a female without emblems, aids him. All the figures face the spectator, the intention of the artist being to represent them approaching the

[a] Apollod. i. 763.

[b] Moschus, Idyll. ii. 44.

[c] Virgil, vii. 789, 792.

[d] V. 459. Ἰλιόθεν δ' ἔκλυον τινὸς ἐν λιμέσιν
Ναυπλίοισι βεβῶτος
τᾶς σᾶς ὦ Θέτιδος παῖ
κλεινᾶς ἀσπίδος ἐν κύκλῳ
τοιάδε σήματα, δείματα
Φρύγια τετύχθαι
περιδρόμῳ μὲν ἴτυος ἕδρᾳ
Περσέα λαιμοτόμον ὑπὲρ
ἁλὸς ποτανοῖσι πεδίλοισι φυὰν
Γοργόνος ἔσχειν Διὸς ἀγγέλῳ
σὺν Ἑρμᾷ
τῷ Μαίας ἀγροτῆρι κούρῳ.

[e] Q. Smyrnæus, Posthomerica, x. l. 125.

[f] Pausanias, v. xviii. 1.

[g] Paus. iii. 13, p. 40.

[h] Müller, Denkm. 324.

Gorgon from behind.[a] The small horse represents Pegasus, or else the steed of Perseus himself. Probably next to this, in point of age, is to be placed an œnochoe of solid black ware, on which the hero, wearing the helmet of Hades, followed by Pallas Athene veiled, advances with reverted head to destroy the Gorgon, aided by Ares armed, and a winged Hermes. Pegasus alone issues from the neck of the winged and decapitated Medusa,[b] or Chrysaor and Pegasus at the same moment.[c] Another jug, the work of the potter Amasis, which is also of the oldest treatment, that called "affected Tyrrhenian," has the same incident. The Medusa stands terrible, bristling with snakes, in the centre of the composition. Perseus, wearing the petasus, chlamys, and talaria, stands on one side decapitating her, aided by Hermes on the other side.[d] According to Pindar, and some of the older Vases, the Medusa pursues Perseus himself to Bœotia.[e]

The bas-relief of Melos represents Perseus, who has leapt on the back of Pegasus, without any helmet or other signs, except the harpé. The Gorgon is draped; Chrysaor leaps out of her neck; her decapitated head remains in the hero's hand. Perseus averts his head.[f] This is a local treatment. In another version of the mythos the Medusa flies through the air at the approach of Perseus, who pursues her with his winged boots and helmet.[g] He is winged also, and flies to her from above;[h] while on a cup, in the possession of the Marquess of Northampton, he approaches her while asleep on a rock. But the usual type of ancient art was the flight of Perseus through the air after having decapitated the Gorgon,[i] which only subsequently became superseded by the death of Medusa, from whose neck issue torrents of blood,[k] in the style in which Benvenuto Cellini has represented them, gushing from the decapitated head in the statue at Florence; or the winged Pegasus;[l] or Pegasus and Chrysaor,[m] the twins, of whom she was pregnant; a

[a] Müller, Denkmäler, taf. iv. 25. Thiersch, Ueber die epochen, Zw. aufl. s. 404, No. 21. Serra di Falco, Sicilia, ii. xxvi.

[b] Micali, Ant. Mon. tav. 22. Müller, l. c. 280. Gerhard, Trinksch. ii. iii. pp. 3, 4.

[c] Gerhard, Vasenbilder, lxxxix. 3, 4.

[d] Now in the British Museum. Cat. of Vases, No. 641*, p. 172. Cf. the vase, Annali, 1851, p. 167, *r. p.*

[e] Scholiast ad Pind. Pyth. xii. 32.

[f] Millingen, Anc. Un. Mon. sect. ii. pt. 2. Müller, Denkm. taf. xiv. No. 15.

[g] Amph. r. f. at Munich. Micali, Mon. Ined. xliv. 3, p. 274. Amph. r. f. ibid. li. 8, p. 320. Ib. 10, 211.

[h] Gerhard, Metallspiegel, taf. cxxi.

[i] Vase Brit. Mus. No. 528. Cat. of Vases, p. 105. Dur. 243. Gerhard, Vasenbilder, lxxxviii.

[k] Mus. Blacas, pl. xi.

[l] Gerhard, Aus. Vasenbilder, lxxix. 1. Heraclitus, de Medusa, i. mentions only the winged horse.

[m] Ibid. lxxix. 2. Pegason et fratrem matris de sanguine natos. Ovid. Met. v. 782—785. Chrysaor was also an epithet of Apollo. Arsenius, Viol. p. 260. Cf. Anth. Græc. iii. p. 161.

type certainly known to Lycophron,[a] as he calls the Medusa the "weasel," because that animal was supposed to give birth to its young through the mouth. In these scenes Hermes and Athene aid Perseus in the same manner as they subsequently proffer their assistance to Hercules: and the hero has the head of the Medusa in the kibisis slung at his side.[b] On the oldest works of art the terror inspired by the Medusa was conveyed by hair bristling with snakes, and a mouth with tusks; in a more refined age the same idea was impressed by a lovely horror-stricken face and locks in elegant disorder. There was a work of Myro on the Necropolis of Athens, representing this subject.[c]

In one of the mural paintings of Herculaneum,[d] certainly not a copy of the more ancient efforts of the Greek pencil, the scene takes place in the country, outside the walls of a city, probably intended for Cyrene. Pallas Athene advances forward as promachos about to pierce her beautiful rival.[e] On her left hand she holds her polished argolic buckler, into which the hero looks to see the reflection of the Gorgon's face, while he decapitates her with the harpé. In the distance repose a goatherd and two goats. This mode of destroying her is also seen on certain terra-cottas from Cuma[f] and Puzzuoli,[g] and on the coins of the Galatian Sebaste,[h] struck in the reign of Caracalla, and is mentioned by Apollodorus,[i] but it does not seem clear from what source he has compiled it. The mirror in which she shewed him the reflection of the head is supposed by Müller[k] to be seen in some of these monuments, but he has apparently confused it, although Tzetzes mentions this abnormal mode of treatment;[l] if it is not a repetition of the Naxian[m] legend of Perseus having been previously prepared for the undertaking by Athene shewing

[a] Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 838.

[b] Stackelberg, Die Graebe, taf. 39. The treatment of this vase much resembles the shield of Hesiod; on it are also the Chimæra and Hydra, or two-headed serpent, Ladon of the Hesperides.

[c] Paus. i. 21, 8.

[d] Mus. Borb. xii. xlviii.

[e] Serv. ad Virg. Æneid, i. p. 289. Pindar, Pyth. xii. 28, calls her εὔπαραος.

[f] Bull. Arch. Nap. Nuov. Ser. 4to. Napol. 1853, p. 188. Perseus on this bas-relief has only a fillet round his head, and the winged sandals on his feet. The head of the Gorgon is of a large size, and surmounted by a floral ornament, as if copied from a pediment.

[g] Ancient Terra-cottas, Brit. Mus. pl. xiii. Guattani, Mon. Arch. Ined. 1788, No. 1. Guigniaut, clxxiv. 609 b.

[h] Mionnet, Supp. vii. pl. xiii. 2, p. 616, No. 275. Sestini, Class. General. edit. 2, p. 126. Guigniaut, clxx. 609 a. Inghirami, Mon. Etr. S. T. L. 4, 7.

[i] Bibl. ii. 4, 2. Probably from Euhemerus. Cf. Hyginus, Poet. Astron. ii. xii.

[k] Arch. s. 414, 3. Cf. the gem, Millin, Voy. au Midi, Atl. lxxiii. Guigniaut, clxx. 609. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 838.

[l] Schol. ad Lycoph. l. 838.

[m] Etym. Magn. voce Δεικτήριον.

him the image of the Gorgon in the Deicterion at Samos. The more authentic treatment of the shield was the favourite representation in the time of Lucian,[a] and at this time the enraged sisters were not so wide awake as to pursue. On one vase Athene herself, as Euhemerus describes, attacks the Gorgon.[b]

There is a portion of the mythos subsequent to the death which has been treated chiefly by artists, that of Athene shewing Perseus the image of the Gorgonion in the water. Some have connected this with the Naxian legend, but it with far greater probability alludes to the goddess regarding it in the Lake Tritonis, surrounded with plants emanating from the Gorgon's blood. This form appears on vases of the decadence of art, and apparently deriving their inspiration from the Satyric drama,[c] perhaps in connection with the plunging of the tooth of the Graiæ into the lake:[d] it is seen also on certain mirrors of late style.[e] The number of monuments in which Perseus is seen flying through the air escaping the pursuit of the Gorgons immediately after the decapitation is most numerous, but principally on objects of small size.[f] The next adventure is the liberation of Andromeda, a subject in the highest degree suited to the artists of the later school, and constant repetition of which shows that it had been the subject of some distinguished painter, such as Apelles or Zeuxis.[g] This is the more probable, because one portion of the adventure, that in which the Argive hero leads down the beautiful maiden from the rock, is only represented, the actual contest with the whale never being seen. The monster lies dead; the hero still retains the Gorgon's head, but averts it from his mistress, and gracefully leads her from the rock to which she had been chained. This myth, evidently another form of the liberation of Hesione by Heracles, connects Perseus a second time with Poseidon, for the Gorgons were the daughters of Phorcys and Ceto, Medusa the beloved of the monarch of the deep. Sometimes the scene is placed in Æthiopia, at other times near Mount Atlas and the Hesperides, whom the serpent Ladon, another of the offspring of Phorcys and

[a] Dial. Marin. ix. 13. *ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ δὴ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος διαστιλβούσης ὥσπερ ἐπὶ κατόπτρου πάρεσχεν αὐτῷ ἰδεῖν τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Μεδούσης· εἶτα λαβόμενος τῇ λαιᾷ τῆς κόμης, ἐνορῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα, τῇ δεξιᾷ τὴν ἅρπην ἔχων, ἀπέτεμε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς καὶ πρὶν ἀνεγέρεσθαι τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἀνέπτατο.*

[b] M. De Witte, Descr. des Vases Peints, 8vo. Paris, 1837, p. 44, No. 87.

[c] Schultz, Ant. Int. 1837, p. 53. Cat. Dur. 245.

[d] M. O. Jahn, Berichte der K. Sachsisch. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. 8vo. 1847, s. 28, taf. Eudocia Violarium, p. 334.

[e] Montfaucon, Ant. ii. 62. Dempster, Etr. Reg. i. 5. Caussei, Mus. Rom. ii. 25. Lanzi, Saggio ii. 7, 4, p. 212. Millin, Gal. xcvi. 386. Inghirami, Mon. Etr. ii. 38. Gerhard, Metallspiegel, Taf. cxxiii. cxxiv.

[f] See Campana, Ant. Vas. Dip. 8vo. Rom. 1837, pp. 166, 167, No. 95. Bull. 1834, pp. 117, 120.

[g] There was probably a work on this subject by the sculptor Myro. Plinius, Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 49. Bergk. Exerc. Plin. ii. 16.

Ceto, guards. On the bas-relief of the Capitol it is treated in a pictorial manner,[a] as in the mural paintings of Herculaneum[b] and Pompeii; once only with two other figures, probably Cassiope and the nurse. On the mirrors other figures appear upon the scene,[c] and on the Etruscan sarcophagi it is treated in a local manner, with the introduction of Lasæ,[d] Cepheus,[e] Cassiope, rocks, and scenery, but never, as Philostratus,[f] in the spirit of his age, describes the action, with Cupid taking off the shackles of Andromeda, nor the monster devouring men and herds. This subject was by no means common upon vases, although the arrival of Perseus at the court of Cepheus may be intended by the artist of the Vase published by Millin,[g] rather than the return of the hero to Seriphos, for Perseus here, attended by Athene, holds the Gorgon's head, while Cepheus, seated on his throne and holding his sceptre, and having Phineus waiting behind him, listens to the hero's proposals, who looks to Andromeda seated on a rock, and expecting the monster's approach. On a vase of very late style, probably as late as B. C. 200, she is seen chained or rather handcuffed to the rock, having at her feet her pyxides or dressing-cases, and alabastron or unguent vase, and Perseus is about to attack the monster.[h] Comparing these with the words of Ovid,[i] and the two adventures of the Gorgon and Andromeda as described by Lucian,[k] it would appear that this was an ordinary subject of bas-relief at his time, while the coins of the Egyptian Alexandria, struck

[a] Mus. Capitol. iv. 53. Guigniaut, clxi. 613.

[b] Mus. Borb. tom. v. tav. xxxiii. lvi.; vi. xl. l.; x. xxxiii.

[c] Inghirami, Mon. Etr. s. i. tom. lv.

[d] Inghirami, Mon. Etr. s. i tom. lv. lvi.

[e] . . . . . genitor lugubris et amens
Mater adest.—Ovid. Met. v. 691, 692.

[f] Imagines, i. xxvii. *τὴν δ' Ἀνδρομέδαν ἀπαλλάττει τῶν δεσμῶν ὁ Ἔρως.*

[g] Guigniaut, Nouv. Gal. clx. 612, 12a. Inghirami, i. lxx. Millin, Vases Peints, lvi. D'Hancarville, iv. No. cxxviii. Paucker, in Arch. Zeit. 1852, p. 448, taf. xlii.

[h] Raoul Rochette, Mon. Ined. pl. xli.

[i] Quam simul ad duras religatam brachia cautes
Vidit Abantiades; nisi quod levis aura capillos
Moverat, et trepido manarunt lumina fletu,
Marmoreum ratus esse opus.—Met. iv. 671—4.

[k] Lucian, Domus, lxi. 24. *Ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν οὖν εἰσιόντι, Ἀργολικῷ μύθῳ ἀναμέμικται πάθος Αἰθιοπικὸν, ὁ Περσεὺς τὸ κῆτος φονεύει καὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν καθαιρεῖ, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν γαμήσει, καὶ ἄπεισιν, αὐτὴν ἄγων· πάρεργον τοῦτο τῆς ἐπὶ Γοργόνας πτήσεως. Ἐν βραχεῖ δὲ πολλὰ ὁ τεχνίτης ἐμιμήσατο, αἰδῶ παρθένου, καὶ φόβον· ἐπισκοπεῖ γὰρ μάχην ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας, καὶ νεανίου τόλμαν ἐρωτικὴν, καὶ θηρίου ὄψιν ἀπρόσμαχον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔπεισι πεφρικὸς ταῖς ἀκάνθαις, καὶ δεδιττόμενον τῷ χάσματι· ὁ Περσεὺς δὲ τῇ λαιᾷ μὲν προδείκνυσι τὴν Γοργόνα, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ καθικνεῖται τῷ ξίφει, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅσον τοῦ κῆτους εἶδε τὴν Μέδουσαν, ἤδη λίθος ἐστὶ, τὸ δ' ὅσον ἔμψυχον μένει, τῇ ἅρπῃ κόπτεται.*

Again, in lxi. 25. *Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ Περσεὺς πάλιν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ κήτους ἐκεῖνα τολμῶν, καὶ ἡ Μέδουσα*

in the 4th year of Antoninus Pius,[a] of Neocesarea, issued in the reign of Maximinus,[b] and those of Tranquillina, from the mint of the Thracian Deultum,[c] repeat the same subject, which is common on gems.[d]

There is connected with the story of Andromeda an incident often represented, no mention of which remains in ancient authors, but which has been repeated on mirrors and on the wall-paintings of Pompeii,[e] not servilely copied, but repeated with that variety of treatment which forms the great charm of ancient art. Perseus shows the liberated fair one the reflection of the head of the terrible Gorgon in the waters either of the sea or of some lake or fountain. To protect her from the sight of this object, which would have changed her into stone, he wraps it under his cloak, or holds it behind his back. In the description of Ovid[f] he lays it on the sea-weeds, and it transforms them into corals; while in an account given by Pausanias,[g] the red colour of the waters of a fountain at Joppa was owing to Perseus having there washed away the blood of the whale with which he was stained. On the mirror published by Gerhard,[h] Pallas Athene holds up the head of the Gorgon for Perseus and Andromeda to behold, and Apollo, whose connection with the Perseid[i] is difficult to understand, appears on the scene. The subject of the liberation of Andromeda was probably selected for the sarcophagi and the mirrors of Etruscan ladies, on account of its relation to death typified by that of the monster, and the liberation of youthful beauty as exhibited by the delivered Andromeda. A similar reason probably caused the introduction of the subject of the fatal fight at her marriage feast on some of the Etruscan sarcophagi of later style and period. This indeed is not known to have been the subject of any work of renown; but that it had been so is probable, from the description of the fight in Ovid,[k] which is either the argument of some tragedy, the translation of an older Perseis, or the extract of some description of works of art. In this, Perseus fights at the altar with Phineus and his followers; some he kills with javelins, others with the harpé, one with a crater, and as a last

τεμνομένη τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ σκέπουσα τὸν Περσέα· ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν τόλμαν εἴργασται, τὸ δὲ ἔργον οὐχ' ἑώρακέ που, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος τῆς Γοργόνος τὴν εἰκόνα, οἶδε γὰρ τὸ προστίμον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὄψεως. A mere allusion to Perseus changing men into stone occurs in the Vet. Act. Lucian, xiv. 25.

[a] Mionnet, vi. 220, No. 1477. [b] Mionnet, ii. 354, No. 129.

[c] Dumersan, Cabinet D'Allier d'Hauteroche, iii. 10.

[d] Winckelman, Pierres Gravées de Stosch, p. 342, No. 150.

[e] Pitture d'Ercolano, tom. iv. tab. viii. iii. 12. Mus. Borb. ix. tav. iii. ix. xxix. xii. tav. xlix—lii. That this is a phantom, not the real Gorgon's head, seems to me improbable. Cf. M. O. Jahn, l. c. p. 290.

[f] Met. iv. 743, 745. [g] Pausan. iv. c. xxxv. [h] Metallspiegel, taf. cxxii.

[i] On his road to the Gorgons Perseus passes through the land of the Hyperboreans, whom he finds sacrificing asses to Apollo. Pindar, Pyth. x. 50, 24, 46. The allusion would, however, be very far-fetched.

[k] Met. v. 1 and foll.

resource he produces the Gorgonion or Medusa's head. This is a reiteration, in fact, of the quarrel of the Lapithæ and Centaur on the Etruscan sarcophagi. The last act is sculptured. Perseus exhibits the Gorgon's head to the armed warriors who attack him, in one hand, while he holds a sword in the other.[a] In those scenes in which he kneels upon an altar, either with an armed companion,[b] or an armed female, probably Athene,[c] it is not always possible to feel assured that the subject of Tydeus, with the head of Menalippus, is not intended. The action on the vase of the Museum at Naples, already mentioned, is too quiet to be that of the death of Phineus or Agenor.[d] All the family of Phineus are placed finally in the starry heavens.[e] The serpents which sprang up from the dropping blood of the Gorgon, appear, however, on this vase.[f] The oracular Themis had warned Atlas that a son of Jove should rob the gardens of the Hesperides of their apples, and, on the refusal of Atlas to admit Perseus within them, Atlas is transformed by the Argive hero into the mountain that bears his name.[g] This has not been represented in any work of consequence of ancient art; but it is probably seen on certain gems,[h] where Perseus stands with the Gorgon's head before a pillar, on which is placed a globe, a subject possibly referable to a still later tradition; but yet probably representing the pole supported by Mount Atlas, as one of the pillars of Hercules. In Ovid this adventure is placed before that of Perseus and Andromeda; but it is of the latest age, as it entirely clashes with the Heracleid, in which Hercules obtains the apples from Atlas.

The return of Perseus to Seriphos, which occurs in all versions of the legend, his exhibition of the Gorgon's head to the notorious Polydectes, and his consequent transmutation, along with the natives of the isle, into stone,[i] was the subject of a painting in the Stoa Poikile at Athens,[k] probably taken from the tragedy of Polydectes by Æschylus.[l] On the coins of Tarsus Perseus is seen shewing the head to Dictys,[m] and on several gems he is seen standing in the temple of Athene at Seriphos, regarding the head of the Gorgon after having

[a] Inghirami, Mon. Etr. i. tav. liv.

[b] Inghirami, M. Etr. s. i. tav. lvii. liv. lxxxiii. [c] Ibid. s. vi. T. A. Gori.

[d] Hygin. Fab. lxiv. [e] Palæphat. de Incred. 32.

[f] Ovid. Met. v. 620. He speaks of Africa according to Alexander Polyhistor. in the Schol. Apollon. Rhod. 1515. Fragm. Hist. Græc. iii. 239, 135. Mus. Borb. v. ii. Apollon. Argon. iii. 1513.

[g] Ibid. 665.

[h] Tolkien, Verzeichniss, 8vo. Berlin, 1826, p. 151, No. 133. Winckelman, Pierres Gravées, p. 340, No. 133.

[l] Strabo, Tauchnitz, p. 391, lib x. c. v. [k] Pausan. i. c. xxii. 6.

[l] The argument may be seen in Eudocia and the Parœmiographi, Gaisford, p. 240. Ovid. Met. v. 241.

[m] Hygin. l. c. Mionnet, iii. 647, No. 561, 587. Suppl. vii. p. 283, No. 511, 525. Cavedoni, Spicil. Numism. p. 311.

rescued his mother, or while converting Polydectes into stone.[a] This is the subject of a vase in the Museum of Naples, on which the presence of Hermes, *Pan*, Zeus, Hera, along with that of Athene, shows that it belongs to a drama, probably that of Polydectes.[b] The destruction of Prœtus[c] in the same manner at Argos has either not been represented or is indistinguishable from the death of Polydectes; but the statues representing a *discobolus*, and generally supposed to be copies of the bronze of Myro, may, with every probability, be referred to *Perseus killing Acrisius* with the quoit, by which he was struck on the head[d] or foot[e] at the games in honour of Teutamus at Larissa,[f] while the hero was exercising at the pentathlon.[g] To Perseus, indeed, was attributed the invention of the quoit, and it is evident that he was represented in the statues in the flower of his age.[h] That Pliny should have called the Perseus of Myro by the name of a discobolus might have arisen from many of the ancient statues having, in his days, become known by the familiar names of amateurs and the artists of Rome; for when he speaks of the Astragalizontes of Polycletus I. it is certain that this artist must, in accordance with the spirit of the age in which he lived, have selected either the incident of Patroclus killing his companion at this game, Ganymedes and Dardanus playing at astragali, or else the children of Medea thus amusing themselves. The dying warrior (vulneratus deficiens) of Onatas was also, probably, the name given by the Romans to the statue of some expiring Greek hero.

The last of the adventures of the Perseid was the war he carried on at Argos[i] against the followers of Dionysos. Two vases of late style, with red figures, one published by Millingen,[k] the other by Curtius,[l] which have Perseus holding up the Gorgon's head to the Satyrs, are supposed to allude to this event. As, however, the Andromeda[m] of Sophocles was a satiric drama, it might form an incident of that play. But the Dionysiac war of Perseus was well known, for the sepulchre of Choreia remained in the days of Pausanias,[n] close to the temple of the Nemean Jupiter at Corinth, and that of the other Bacchantes before the temple

[a] Where he was educated. Hygin. cclxxiii.
[b] Mus. Borb. v. li.
[c] Ovid. Met. v. 240.
[d] Hygin. lxiii. Pausan. ii. c. xvi.
[e] Apoll. Bibl. l. c.
[f] Hygin. lxiii.
[g] Parœmiogr. Vet. a Gaisford. Zenob. 41, p. 240.
[h] Paus. l. c. Καὶ ὁ μὲν οἷα ἡλικίᾳ τε ἀκμάζων καὶ τοῦ δίσκου χαίρων τῷ εὑρήματι, ἐπεδείκνυτο ἐς ἅπαντας.
[i] Pausanias, ix. 11, 20, 3.
[k] Vases Peints, Pl. 2.
[l] Curtius (Ernst), Herakles der Satyr und dreifuss Rauber, 4to. Berlin, 1852, p. 4. O. Jahn, Vorhand. d. Sachsich. Akad. Bd. 1.
[m] Andromeda, Sophocles, a Brunckh. 8vo. Lond. 1824, p. 200. Eratosthenes, Catast. 16.
[n] ii. c. xx. 3.

of Leto.[a] It is, however, only later writers that make him killed by this cohort.[b] The Corinthian legends alone narrated that the Gorgon's head was buried under the Argive agora of Corinth, for the Argives placed the heroum of Perseus on the road from Mycenæ to Argos, and close to it the altar of Dictys and Clymene, his saviours.[c] Deinias, a late Argive writer, makes him fly to the Persians, and call the Erythrean sea from the name of his son.[d] Pausanias of Damascus, in his book on Antioch, describes the hero as coming to the Ionitæ or Iopolitanæ, of Syria, and to Mount Silpion. The river Draco overflows; Perseus exhorts the inhabitants to pray; a globe of fire descends from heaven and averts the inundation.[e] The Syncellus makes him fly from Dionysos with one hundred ships to Assyria,[f] and Cephalion to overturn that kingdom.[g] To these writers may be added the authority of Plutarch,[h] and of one Semeronius[i] of Babylon, who makes him destroy the Assyrian lord [Sard]Anapullus, confounding him with the Persians. These miserable mixtures of truth and history, confused or blended by the ignorance of the writers, are scarcely worth reciting, except that they are the result of such credulity as that of Herodotus, who sought for Perseus in Egypt. Yet the old legends always asserted that Perseus had founded Mycenæ, where the point of his sword dropped, as may be seen from Chrysormos,[k] and that he was killed by Megapenthes.[l] Possibly some of the later versions of the Perseid may be illustrated by certain gems[m] and other monuments. In connection with the Perseid is the invention by Athene of the tune upon the flutes, which was suggested by the wail or threne of the Gorgons for their deceased sister,[n] the subject of one vase.[o] Isolated groups of Perseus, or of Gorgons, taken from groups of various compositions, are numerous on all kinds of monuments, as statues,[p] vases,[q] gems,[r] and reliefs, and shew Perseus winging his way through the air, holding the head of the

[a] ii. c. xxii. 1.

[b] Augustin, De Civit. Dei, xvii. 2. Lobeck, Aglaophamos, pp. 573, 574.

[c] Paus. ii. xviii. 1; ii. c. xv. xvi. 146.

[d] Fragm. Hist. iii. p. 25, 4.

[e] From Malala, Frag. Hist. Grec. iii. ad fin. [f] Ibid. iii. 169.

[g] Ibid. iv. 591. [h] Vit. Cimon. Init.

[i] Chron. Alex. p. 38. Voss, De Hist. Græc. 8vo. Lips 1838, a Westermann, p 497.

[k] Fragm. Hist. Græc. iv. 361, I. Plutarch. de Flum. 18, 7. [l] Hygin. ccxliv.

[m] Cf. Winckelman, Pierres de Stosch, p. 340, Nos 134, 136, 137. Tolkien, Verzeichniss, 8vo. Berl. 1826, p. 151, Nos. 135–137.

[n] Τὸν αὐλήτικον καλούμενον νόμον. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 838.

[o] Lenormant and De Witte, Élite. Pl. lxxiv.

[p] Mus. Pio Clem. ii. plate xxxiii

[q] Œnochoe at Munich. Micali, Mon Ined. xliii. 2. p. 252. Mus. Blac. plate xxvi.

[r] Winckelm. Pierres, l. c. p. 1760. Tolkien, l. c.

Gorgon, dropping clots of blood,[a] from which spring the Libyan serpents,[b] a late version of the story. He is occasionally pursued by Medusa's sisters,[c] as on the shield of Hesiod and chest of Cypselus, and some vases of archaic style, which probably copied that monument.

The numismatic representations of this portion of the story are most numerous, it having been generally selected for the coins of such cities as regarded this hero as their founder. Such reasons, at least, have made it the type of Iconium,[d] in Lycaonia, in which he stands holding the head of the Medusa, for there he founded the city of Perseis;[e] of Argos;[f] of Amastris, on which he is represented standing over the corpse of the decapitated Gorgon, while his protectress Athene has her head on the obverse;[g] of Amisus;[h] and Sinope;[i] of those of Anemurium, Cabira,[k] and Comasa,[l] struck under Maximinus,[m] and of Argos under the younger Valerian,[n] and on those of the already cited Sebaste. The types of Seriphos, with the Gorgonion, or Perseus walking, rather recal to mind his fatal arrival at the island, and the transmutation of Polydectes and his court into rocks, than the destruction of the Gorgon.[o] This head alone, or in connection with the Gorgonion, is also seen on the coins of Argos,[p] Amphipolis,[q] Astypalæa,[r] and Macedon.[s] It is on the obverse of the coins of Philip V.[t] and Perseus[u] that the head of Perseus appears as the

[a] Inghirami, Mon. Etr. s. vi. t. 2. 4, with his name ΦΕΔΣΕ. Cf. Millin, Gal. Myth. xcv. 387. ΝΕΔΕΔ. Lanzi, Saggio ii. iv. 6.

[b] Vase, r. f. Mus. Borb. Ovid. Met. v. 620.

[c] Amph. r. f. Campanari, Antichi Vasi dipinti, 8vo. Roma. 1837, pp. 166, 167, No. 95.

[d] Eckhel, Num. Vet. Thes. Tb. 15, s. 2, pp. 271, 272. Cat. 1, p. 209, No. 1. Rasche, Lex. N. t. ii. P. ii. p. 254. Mionnet, vii. 147, No. 5.

[e] Hygin. 275.

[f] Mionnet, Supp. iv. p. 249, Nos. 86, 87. Sestini, Descr. del. Mus. Fontana, p. 63, No. ii, tab ii. fig. 12. Mus. Gothan.

[g] Mionnet, ii. 389, No. 7; s. iv. 552, No. 9. Pellerin, Rec. tom. ii. pl. xi. p. 18. Mus. Pemb. Pl. 2, t. 3.

[h] Mionnet, s. iv. p. 435, No. 436. Hunter, Num. Vet. t. 4, viii. Haym. Tes. Brit. P. II. t. xx. No. 2, p. 174. Neumann, Pop. Th. 1, fig. 1, p. 1.

[i] Mionnet, ii. 401, No. 84. Neumann, P. II. tab. 1. Gesner, Vor Ill. iii. No. 19.

[k] Haym. Tes. Brit. ii. t. xx. No. 4, p. 75. Mionnet, ii. p. 348, No. 99.

[l] Neumann, l. c p. 8. Mus. Theup. P. II. p. 1261.

[m] Mionnet, iii. p. 559. Cabinet d'Ennery, p. 426, No. 1. [n] Mionnet, iii. p. 565.

[o] Mionnet, S. iv. 400, No. 217. Sestini, Lett. Num. Cont. v. p. 29, No. 1. Cadalvene, Recueil, Pl. IV. No. 6, Pl iv. fig. 27.

[p] Mionnet, s. iv. 243. Eckhel, Num. Vet. Tb. xiii. s. 9, pp. 225, 226. [q] Mionnet, i. 495.

[r] Mionnet, vi. 563. Cadalvene, Recueil, p. 252, No. 1, Pt. IV. fig. 22. No. 8, Pt. IV. fig. 26.

[s] Mionnet, i. 435.

[t] Mus. Pemb. p. 2, l. 54, No. 263. Mionnet, Supp. i. 587, No. 920. Eckhel, Sylloge, i p. 47.

[u] Eckhel, Cat. i. p. 94, Nos. 5, 6.

ἐπισημεῖον of the Macedonian shield of the Argyraspides, with the harpé behind his head, as his helmet here is in shape of a gryphon, the crest in shape of the head of the animal, the side-pieces, or *phaloi*, like the wings. It is to this period that this mode of treating the helmet of Hades must be referred, as well as the age of those monuments and coins above cited on which it is so represented.[a]

The figures on the vase now particularly under consideration divide themselves into two groups; the first represents an aged person, probably a female, for the form is attired as the Amazons are on works of art of the same period, leaning on two Æthiopians, accompanied by a diphropheros or chair-bearer; another figure with a pyxis or toilet-box and a tainia or sash; a third with a mirror and alabastron; all in attendance upon her. This figure wears an anaxyrides, a tunic, and a cidaris, and advances full face with an air of great dejection, such as would suit Cassiope the mother of Andromeda, or the maiden herself at the prospect of being attached to the fatal rock. The second group represents a bearded man, in whom must be recognised Phineus seated on a rock, draped in a tunic and peplos, and wearing a cidaris, seated on a rock, holding a stick on which he leans, bending down his head in grief or attention, and regarding the action of three other Æthiopians, two of whom are engaged in driving a hole with picks into a rock or mountain, while a third passes his hand almost to the elbow into the hole. Behind Cepheus stands a figure that should be Perseus. On his head is the casque or winged helmet of Hades, which he and Hermes only wear, for at the earliest period of art he can scarcely be distinguished from the son of Maia, as he then wears the petasus; at the fuller developement of art, and especially on the vases of South Italy, both wear helmets with wings. On the latest monuments the helmet of Hades is represented as a gryphon, probably in allusion to the Cimmerian darkness of the Hyperboreans, to whom that animal was sacred, and where it was supposed to dwell; a helmet also worn by his protectress Pallas Athene.[b] The description of the charlatan Alexander in Lucian, who bound up his hair[c] like Perseus, wore a

[a] The coin itself being of silver, Ἀργυρον, and the obverse convex shows the device of the Ἀργυρ-άσπιδες of the reign of Philip. It was an elegant device. Most of the autonymous coins have the helmet in this shape.

[b] Eudocia Violar. *περὶ Ἄϊδος κυνέης.* Villoison, Anecdot. Græce, i. p. 30, *ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ τὸ πρόσωπον ἔκρυψεν ἡ Ἀθῆνα, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁράσθαι ὑπὸ Ἄρεος τοιαύτη καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἅδου κυνῆ, ᾗ Περσεὺς χρησάμενος τὴν Γόργονα ἐδειροτόμησεν.*

[c] The peculiar type of Perseus was holding the falx, *προεισπέπεται δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, κομῶν ἤδη καὶ πλοκάμους καθειμένος, καὶ μεσόλευκον χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν ἐνδεδυκώς, καὶ ἱμάτιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ἀναβεβλημένος, ἅρπην ἔχων κατὰ τὸν Περσέα, ἀφ' οὗ ἑαυτὸν ἐγενεαλόγει μητρόθεν.* Pausanias, xxxii. 11.

This same impostor solicited the Emperor to be allowed *καὶ νόμισμα καινὸν κόψαι τῇ μὲν τοῦ Γλύκωνος,*

white and purple tunic, and held a harpé, shows the mode in which the hero was then represented, and he is occasionally seen holding lances instead of the sword [a] or harpé.[b] On his feet are certainly the talaria or *ἀρβυλόπτερον*.[c] There is not sufficient vegetation on the mountain to justify the supposition that the scene is intended for the Æthiopians uprooting the *Persea* which Cepheus presents to Perseus after the destruction of the marine monster and the liberation of Andromeda, and which he subsequently transplanted to Argos.[d] The action is therefore more probably the Æthiopians preparing the fetters to attach Andromeda to the rock.

Some, indeed, may prefer to interpret this scene as the destruction of the effeminate Sardanapalus by the Argive hero; but that tradition is of too late an origin for it to be admitted. The Æthiopian character of the attendant boys places the action amidst the "blameless Æthiopians;" and if the costume of the central figure, with the cap, short tunic, and the trowsers, resembles the Persian or Asiatic dress rather than that usually seen on the forms of Negroes, the period of the fabrication of the vase must be borne in mind. The Amazons, too, are thus apparelled; so are the Trojan archers, and the followers of the Æthiopian Memnon. The seat may be the *trapeza* or table which held the *kosmos*, or toilet apparatus, which on the Etruscan sarcophagi was placed at the foot of the rock to which Andromeda was fettered. It is hardly possible to conceive that such objects could have been carried, except in the train of a female; and in the mythos of Andromeda the monster, like the Minotaur, requires to be propitiated by a lovely virgin. It is to be observed that her face is, unlike that of Phineus, provided

κατὰ θάτερα δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου στεμματά τε τοῦ πάππου Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἅρπην ἐκείνην τοῦ πατρομήτορος Περσέως ἔχοντος. Ibid. 58.

[a] Serra di Falco, ii. 26. Müller, Denk. i. 4. 24. Valeriani, Mus. Chius. 33, 34. Micali, Storia, 22. D'Agincourt, Fragm. 14. 2. Millin, Gal. Myth. 105, 386, xx. f. Mus. Borb. v. 32, 39.

[b] Sometimes the harpé appears merely a kind of scimetar (O. Jahn, Arch. Beitrage. s. 256), and is the characteristic mark of Perseus on the coins. See supra, and Millingen, Récueil, 3, 13; Cab. d'Allier, 7, 22; Cadalvene, 4, 24–29, p 116; also on the bas-relief, Mus. Borbon. v. 40; on the wall-paintings, Mus. Borb. vi. 30; Pitture di Erc. iv. 37; and on the vases, Millingen, Vases Peints, 3; Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, 366; Rochette, Mon. In. i. 48; Gerhard, Aus Vas. 88. 1. It appears as a mere sickle, Millin, Vases, ii. 34; Blacas, ii. 1; with handle in shape of a winged serpent, Stackelberg die Graeber, 39; Gerhard, Aus. Vas. 88. 2; Panofka, Verlegene, Mythen, taf. 2; Micali, Mon. In. i. 44. 2; also on mirrors, Gerhard, Mirroris 122, 123; and scarabæi, Lanzi, Saggio ii. 4, 6; and on the terra-cotta, from Melos, Millingen, Anc Un. Mon. ii. 2.

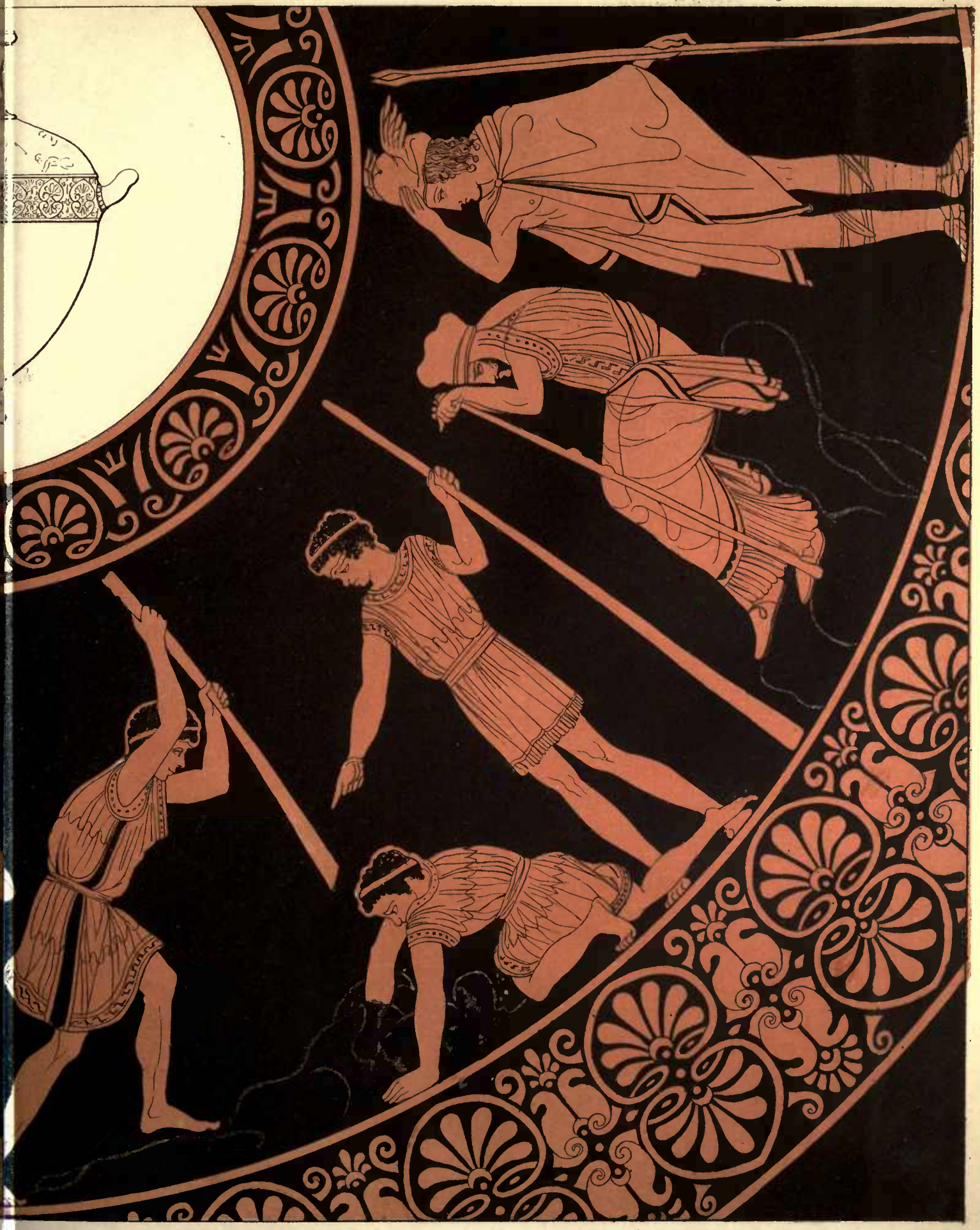
[c] Tzetzes, ad Lyc. 839.

[d] Schol. ad Nicandri Alexipharmaca. 100. Eutech. in Schol. ad eund. Ibid. 102—101. Theriaca, 764.

with an ample beard. Although the same costume as the supposed Andromeda wears is also seen on certain vases of the same age and style as the apparel of male personages, such as the Indian Dionysos, Midas, Memnon, yet it is also worn by females; and it is impossible to conceive that, according to Greek ideas, Perseus should become fascinated by a negress. Hence the artists of the best schools always represented the characters of Cepheus, Cassiope, and Andromeda, under a form purely Greek; but on the vases of the decadence of art, there is constantly a departure from this rule, and a tendency to represent the individuals of foreign myths in their appropriate costume. At the same time certain restrictions, the necessary tribute to national taste or ignorance, prevented the adoption of costume entirely Asiatic.

VASE REPRESENTI

Published



NTURE OF PERSEUS.

J. Basire, lith.

f London, 1855.

VI. *Note on a Variety of Objects discovered during the progress of Excavations for Sewerage in Salisbury.* *By* JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, *Esq. F.S.A. Secretary.*

Read 25 May, 1854.

BY the kind permission of Mr. Edward C. Brodie, of Salisbury, I submit to the inspection of the Society a very numerous collection of objects discovered in that city during the progress of excavations for the new sewers. They consist of—1. Knives, of various descriptions; 2. Shears; 3. Spoons; 4. Padlocks; 5. Keys; 6. Weapons; 7. Buckles; 8. Pilgrims' signs; 9. Rings; and some other relics, the uses of which are not easily ascertained.

The knives appear to range from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. Many of these were doubtless for personal use, and carried in the girdle. There are others, however, which seem to be the implements of curriers or cordwainers. Several are marked with the letter W within a double square, but one has the mark of an open human hand.[a] They do not appear to be of a very early date, but are doubtless examples of the cutlery for which Salisbury was long famous.

The shears are all small, but of different sizes and very simple form, and are not unlike the examples of the Anglo-Saxon period, though probably not earlier than the fifteenth century.

The spoons are of latten and lead, and present nothing remarkable. The makers' stamps are a crowned full-blown rose between the letters I. R.; a fleur-de-lis, which is stamped also along the handle; a key between the letters R. G.; three spoons between the letters G . . . and DOVBEL; a key and a sword in saltier between the letters R. I.; a crowned lion's head; R. G., and another stamp of W.; I. G. within a beaded circle; a crowned rose between M. H.; and a spoon between two inverted G's and L. R.

The padlocks are for the most part of a comparatively late period, some of them resembling the padlocks of globose form still used in the Netherlands. Two or three are, however, apparently as early as the fifteenth century.

[a] Probably the device of a maker named Gauntlett. A tobacco-pipe maker of that name is mentioned by Fuller and by Aubrey.

The keys are the most numerous objects in this collection. They include many interesting examples, ranging perhaps from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. But the most remarkable objects are the latch-keys, the age of which might be questioned if they were not known to have been found with other keys at least as old as the fifteenth century.

The heads of weapons consist of a specimen of a spear of very powerful make, barbed darts of several sizes, an old English arrow-head, the head of a cross-bow-bolt, and the head of a bird-bolt.

The buckles present nothing worthy of special notice.

The pilgrims' signs in lead are devices which appear not to have been hitherto noticed. One evidently represents Saint Michael, without however his characteristic arms; the other the sun within a crescent, and the third the bust of a man within a pulpit (or a font?), surrounded by a square frame or border inscribed SOLI DEO HONOS ET AMOR ET GLORY. Above the whole, the rising sun.

There are several other relics, among which is a stonemason's chisel, compasses, a small hammer, and some fragments of chain-armour.

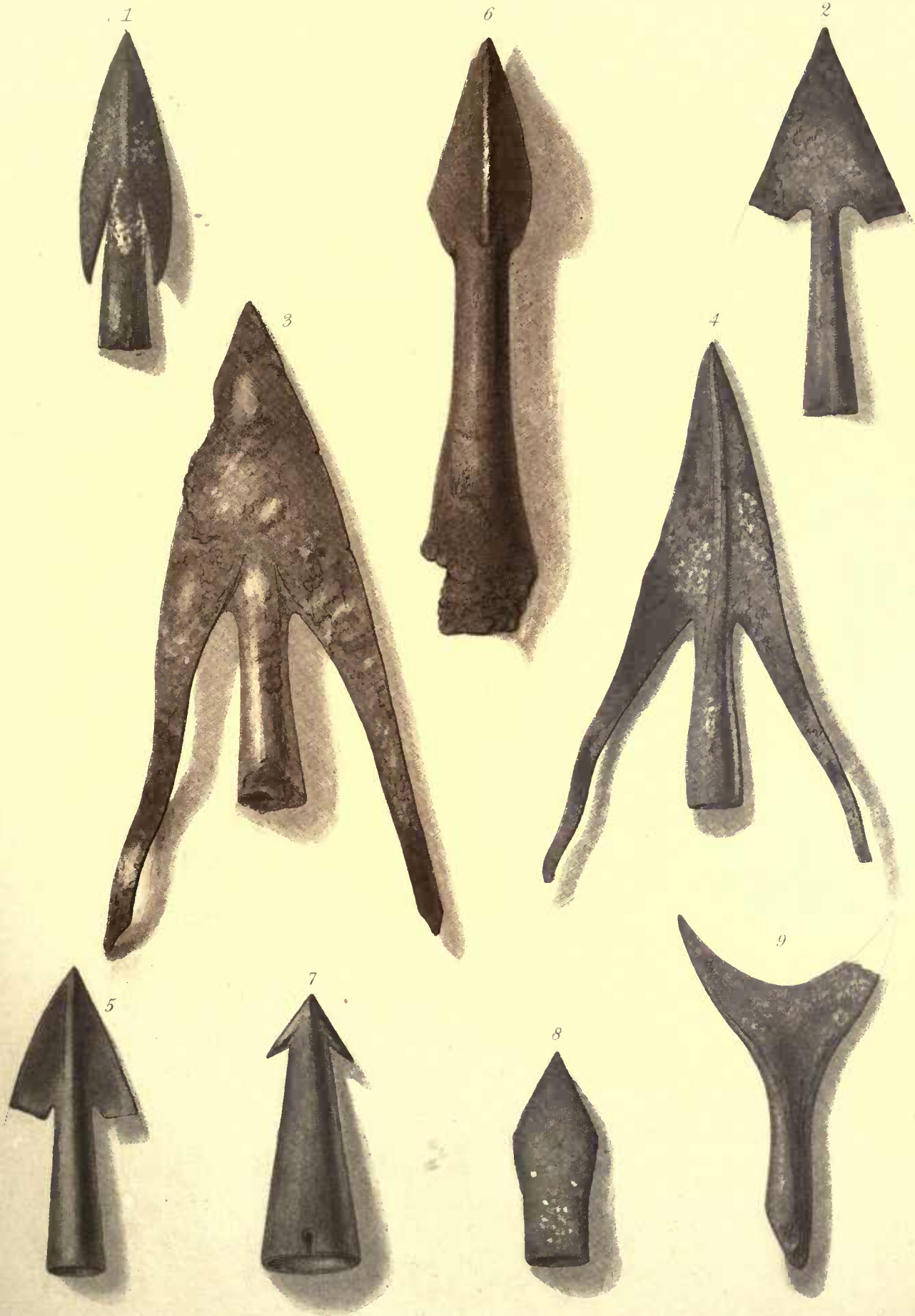
Of all these objects, which have been rescued from dispersion by the conservative zeal of Mr. Brodie, the heads of various missile weapons (represented in the accompanying Plate) are perhaps the most deserving of the notice of the antiquary, especially of those who have given their attention to our military antiquities, of which these are interesting illustrations.

No. 1, represented like the others of the actual size, is distinguished from the rest by the form of the barbs, which are bent inwards. It appears to be too small for a dart cast by the hand, and was probably projected from a balista or large cross-bow.

No. 2 is another dart-head, the barbs of which appear to have been broken off. No. 5 closely resembles it, and appears likewise to have lost its barbs.

Nos. 3 and 4 are dart-heads, with very long barbs, similar in construction to one exhibited in January, 1852, by Mr. Greville Chester, at a meeting of the Archæological Institute, in whose Journal (vol. ix. p. 112) it is described as "a pheon found at Blenheim." I have seen several examples of these heads, and possess one found in the Thames. They appear to have been the heads of feathered darts cast with the hand. An illustration of their use may be seen in the exquisite illuminations of a copy of Valerius Maximus, a MS. of the fifteenth century, in the British Museum (MS. Harl. 4374, fol. 161), and another of "Jehan de Saintre" (Cott. Nero, D. IX.)

No. 6 is a remarkable and uncommon example. It is probably the head of a dart projected from a balista, for which its trilateral head would peculiarly adapt



HEADS OF MISSILE WEAPONS FOUND AT SALISBURY.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1856.

J. Basire, del. et sc.

it. Thus propelled it must have been capable of piercing any kind of defensive armour.

No. 7 appears to be the head of a cross-bow bolt.

No. 8, the head of the old cloth-yard arrow (?)

No. 9, the bifurcate head of a bird-bolt, similar to one found at Mentmore, Bucks, and described by Mr. Ouvry in the Archæologia, Vol. XXXV. p. 382. In 1852 Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., exhibited four specimens of this description of head, found behind the wainscot at Machen Place, an old seat of his family in Monmouthshire. This form of bolt appears to have been used in field-sports. A very curious picture, exhibited by Mr. Farrer at a meeting of the Archæological Institute (Journal, vol. v. p. 303), represents a stag-hunt given by the Elector of Saxony to Charles the Fifth, and other great personages, who appear shooting with the cross-bow with bolts having heads of this peculiar form. They are conjectured, however, by some antiquaries to have been used in war, from the circumstance of several similar heads having been found on the memorable battle-field of Towton, but this at best seems doubtful. Forked arrow-heads have long been used by the Chinese, and it was with shafts thus armed that Commodus performed his famous feat of decapitating an ostrich when at full speed in the amphitheatre.

J. Y. AKERMAN.

London, 25th May, 1854.

VII. *Account of the Convent of English Nuns formerly settled at Louvain, in South Brabant: in a Letter addressed to the President by Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *Director.*

Read December 14, 1854.

MY LORD,

As long ago as 1797 the Abbé Mann of Brussells, then residing in exile at Prague in Bohemia, communicated to our Society, of which he was a foreign Member, "A short Chronological Account of the Religious Establishments made by English Catholics on the Continent of Europe." His lists were collected with care and exactness, and in many instances preserved a record of religious Communities in which numerous members of the most eminent Catholic families of England became professed.

His Account of the Augustine Nuns of Louvain is as follows:

"These Canonesses of St. Austin were first established in the year 1609, by Mrs. Mary Wiseman, a professed nun of the Flemish Convent of St. Ursula, in Louvain. They were governed by a prioress, and educated young ladies. This house enjoyed considerable funds, and subsisted till the French Invasion of 1794, when the members of it fled out of the Low Countries."—Archæol. vol. xiii. p. 264.

Fuller in his Church History, B. vi. p. 364, makes mention of this convent, but in a very unsatisfactory and, I may say, in an unkind manner. He says, "Here I purposely omit the nunnes of Lovaine, in Brabant, because not speaking *pure English*, and scarcely *medietatem linguæ*, being a hodge-podge of Dutch and English, and the former at this day most numerous. Yea, oftentimes the two nations here strive for superiority, and, though nature inclineth me in this contention to favour my country women, yet I conceive it better to leave them alone to agree with themselves, and proceed to the Jesuitesses."

Whatever the hodge-podge of language spoken in the convent might have been in Fuller's time; at a time but little subsequent, comparatively speaking, one of the nuns wrote a short history of this convent in very good English, and showed that some of the most eminent Catholic families of England, for a considerable series of years, continued to send members of their families there, not only for profession, but for education. Cole in one of his MS. volumes, now in the British Museum, has preserved a copy of the Narrative relating to this convent to which I

allude. It forms a valuable appendage to the Abbé Mann's brief notice of the institution, and preserves the names of several ladies belonging to ancient and noble families of England, who from time to time became professed there.

The following is Cole's general title and introduction to his transcript :[a]—

"An Account of the Nunnery of St. Monica, in Louvain, given me by John Wade of the Priory in Earl's Colne in Essex, Esq. Febr. 10, 1745-6, and given to him by one of the Nuns of the said Convent when he was there in 1723 with a friend who went to see the Investiture of two of his Daughters in the said Nunnery."

I remain, my Lord,
Your Lordship's faithful servant,
HENRY ELLIS.

"*Some brief Notes concerning the Beginning and Progress of the Monastery of St. Monica, in Louvain.*

In the year of our Lord 1609, the 10 of February, the Monastery of St. Monica of the order of St. Augustine, chainoinesses regular, was begun in the town of Lovain (in an house then hired and after bought of the Abbot of Ulierbeck of the order of St. Benedict,) by seven religious women of England, who had been professed in the monastery of St. Ursula of the same order and in the same town, which said cloister of St. Monica was erected in honour of the Conception of our Lady and of the glorious Archangel St. Michael, under the title of St. Monica.

We began without either founder or foundation, relying only on the Divine Providence, which has brought us from so small and inconsiderable a beginning to what we now are. We had, indeed, a promise of what was thought sufficient to buy our house; but that failed: and, though we began with license of the Archbishop, and free consent of the Convent from whence we came, yet we had not above 5*s.* among us, and each person their habit and furniture, and some little household stuff.

Our chief assistants in all our troubles were Dr. Cesar Clement, Dean of St. Gudule's at Brussells, nephew to Reverend Mother Clement, and Mr. Worthington, our chief benefactor, who engaged his whole estate to the Bishop for our maintenance, if other promises should fail; but, thanks be to God, we wanted not that great charity.

There came from St. Ursula's, with the first seven included, at several times, to the number of seventeen nuns and two lay sisters:

[a] Addit. MSS. Brit. Mus. 5813; Cole, vol. xii. fol. 51.

1st. Elizabeth Sherley of Sherley, in Leicestershire, was the first impowered by the Bishop for the beginning of this Monastery, and performed the charge of both Superior and Procuratrix for about nine months (after which she was chosen Sub-Prioress). She was a person of great piety, prudence, and courage; ob. 1 Sept. 1641, in the 46th year of her profession, and æt. 76.

1. Our first Superior was Reverend Mother Mary Wiseman, daughter to Thomas Wiseman of Bradock, in Essex, Esq. and Mrs. Jane Vacham, of an ancient family in Wales, chosen on 16 Nov. 1609; ob. 8 July, 1633, in the 63 year of her age, 40 of her profession, and 24 of her government. She gave the Holy Vail to 78 Religious: viz. 53 Nuns, 6 Converse, and 19 Lay Sisters. She was a good Latinist, and translated all those homilies, sermons, and expositions of Psalms out of the Holy Fathers, which we read in our refectory.

2. Our second Prioress was Mother Magdalen Throgmorton, daughter of Mr. Throgmorton of Coughton, in Warwickshire, Esq. and Mrs. Agnes Wilsford; ob. 26 Oct. 1668, 78 of her age, 56 of her profession, and 35 of her government. She professed 38 Religious: viz. 28 Nuns, 1 Converse, and 9 Lay Sisters.

3. Our third Prioress was Mother Winifride Thimbleby, daughter of Richard Thimbleby of Ernam, in Lincolnshire, Esq. and Mrs. Broosby; ob. 31 Aug. 1690, 72 of her age, 55 of her profession, and 22 of her government. She was elected Superior by the unanimous votes of the whole community.

4. Our fourth Prioress, Mother Marina Plowden, daughter of Francis Plowden of Plowden, in Shropshire, Esq. and of Mrs. Catherine Rudely, widow of Mr. Butler; ob. 1 Nov. 1715, in the 78 year of her age, 60 of her profession, and 26 of her government. She professed 32 Religious: viz. 25 Nuns and 7 Lay Sisters.

5. Our present Prioress is Mother Delphina Sheldon, daughter of Edward Sheldon of Barton, in Oxfordshire, Esq. and of Catherine Constable of Everingham, in Yorkshire. She was elected on the 12th of November, 1715. She hath professed 16 Nuns and 4 Lay Sisters.[a]

Since the foundation in 1609 to 1723, 50 Religious, 13 Lay Sisters. Most of the religious have been of the ancientest families in England. Six of the nobility: viz.

[a] The following was the form used in the Nunnery at profession:

"Ego Soror . . . . . Votum facio et Professionem ac promitto Deo omnipotenti, Beatæ Mariæ semper Virgini, Beato Patri nostro Augustino, et omnibus Sanctis, et tibi reverende domine Archi-Presbyter Vicegerens eminentissimi ac reverendissimi domini Domini Thomæ Cardinalis de Alsatia Archiepiscopi Mechliniensis, et tibi reverenda Mater Delphina Sheldon, hujus Conventus Priorissa, et omnibus vobis legitime successuris obedientiam secundum Regulam S^ti^ Patris nostri Augustini, castitatem perpetuam, paupertatem et carentiam proprii, et clausuram perpetuam secundum constitutionem nostri Monasterii Divæ Monicæ."

Sister Frances Parker, daughter to Lord Morley, profest in 1626. Sister Mary Constable, daughter to Viscount Dunbar, profest in 1658. Sister Gertrude Thimelby, daughter to Lord Aston, profest in 1658. Sister Ursula Stafford, daughter to William Howard Viscount Stafford, who was beheaded in England in the time of Oates's plot, professed in 1664.

Sister Catherine and Sister Frances Radcliffe, daughters to Francis Radcliffe first Earl of Derwentwater.

Reverend Mother Margaret Clement, daughter of Dr. John Clement and Mrs. Margaret Giggs, professed in the monastery of St. Ursula in 1557, elected Prioress there in 1569, and there governed 38 years (resigning her office by reason of blindness). She came with our sisters to begin this house, and ob. 1612, on the 25 of May. She was a woman of exemplary piety. She had the education of Sister Elizabeth Woodford, an English Religious of the monastery of Dartford in Kent, of the Order of St. Augustine, Canoness Regular, professed there Dec. 8th, 1519. In 1540, Religious Houses being overthrown in England, she came to St. Ursula's in Lovain, and died 25 October, 1572, having been 53 years professed, 24 of which she lived at St. Ursula's.

Our first Confessor was Mr. John Fen, who came with us from St. Ursula's, and ob. 27th Dec. 1615.

Mr. Stephen Barnes, our second Confessor, came to us in 1611; ob. 1 Jan. 1653, æt. 77.

The third Confessor, Mr. Richard Johnson, came to us; ob. 12 Jan. 1687, æt. 84.

The fourth, Mr. George Lynde, came in 1677; ob. 15 Feb. 1715.

Our present Confessor is Mr. Gilbert Haydocke.

In 1625 our church was finished and consecrated by the Archbishop of Mechlin on the 25 of May, being Trinity Sunday, and dedicated in honour of the immaculate Conception of our Blessed Lady. The Bishop placing on the High Altar the reliques of St. Mauritius and his companions, Martyrs of the Theban Legion, ordaining that we should yearly keep their Feast on the 22d of September, with a double office. The anniversary of our Churches Dedication on the Sunday immediately following the Octave of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Our Monastery being over full, we erected a Convent at Bruges, with license of Superiors spiritual and temporal, and sent thither ten Religious, giving each £15 a year for life; dedicated in honour of our Blessed Lady's Nativity, under the title of Nazareth."

VIII. *Note on the Angon of Agathias. By* JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, *Secretary; introductory of Drawings of Examples, and some Remarks, by* HERR LUDWIG LINDENSCHMIT *of Mayence.*

Read May 18, 1854.

In my communication "On some of the Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races" read to the Society some time since,* I alluded to the fact of the weapon termed "angon" by Agathias never having been found in any of the numerous graves of the Frank and Anglo-Saxon period explored in France and in this country. The subject was thought not undeserving the attention of an active and observant Fellow of the Society, and accordingly Mr. Wylie on the 20th January, 1853, communicated some remarks on this weapon, which he illustrated by a sketch of a javelin, presumed by him to represent the angon so minutely described by Agathias. This example is preserved in the Museum of Artillery in Paris, and it is represented in Mr. Wylie's remarks in the 35th volume of the Archæologia, p. 51. At the same time Dr. Collingwood Bruce noticed incidentally in his account of the Roman Wall a weapon nearly identical in shape and character with that described and represented by Mr. Wylie.

There appear, however, the best reasons for our supposing that neither of these objects really represent the angon of Agathias. In a communication with which I have just been favoured by Herr Ludwig Lindenschmit of Mayence, an antiquary well known by his curious work on the Frank Graves of Selzen, this gentleman, after observing on the important results arising from the intercommunion of antiquaries of different nations, says, "I esteem myself fortunate in thus being able to communicate some remarks on an object which appears to be unknown in England, and, what is still more remarkable, has never been observed in France in any discoveries of the Merovingian period. I allude to the angon of the Franks, for a treatise on which by Mr. Wylie I am indebted to you, but of which the exact character is not generally known, at least as it appears to me. I discovered in the graves of Selzen the iron of a lance which certainly answers to the description of this weapon, but, its shape being concealed by rust, I was unable to identify it in the manner I could have wished until I had an opportunity of comparing it with other examples, discovered elsewhere, and so well preserved as to allow of our recognising the character of this arm.

* Archæologia, Vol. XXXIV.

ANGONS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 25th April 1855.

J. Basire, sc.

"In forwarding you the accompanying designs, I may remark that in our neighbourhood are preserved five; two in our collection (Mayence), two in the Museum of Wiesbaden, and one in the Museum of Darmstadt. I feel confident that an inspection of these drawings will satisfy you that the weapons accord with the description of Agathias, as also with that in Eigil's Saga—the lance of Thorulf—more completely than any yet described. I readily concede that the lance figured No. 1 in the interesting treatise of Mr. Wylie responds to the idea of the angon; nevertheless it does not accord with the length of the iron socket so especially indicated, and which in the angon properly so called is from three to four feet in length.

"The quadrilateral points of these lances are very remarkable. They differ entirely from all the other descriptions of lance-heads of this period, and resemble the points of the cross-bow bolts and halbards of the middle ages, and also the points of different swords and daggers made for piercing defensive armour.

"In nearly all these lance-heads," observes Herr Lindenschmit, "the barbs are pressed close to the shaft, as if they had been forced through some solid body. The examples from Wiesbaden and Darmstadt are also bent as if they had been employed in warfare."

From these drawings and remarks it will be seen that the description which Agathias gives us of the angon of the Franks is verified by archæological discovery. But we have yet to account for the fact that no weapon of this character has been discovered in the Merovingian cemeteries of France—a fact which we may venture to explain by supposing that, as the Ripuarian and the Salic Franks, though of one great Teutonic family, were governed by different laws, so also they may have differed in many usages both in peace and in war, and among others in the adoption of the weapon so minutely described by the historian.

The drawings now exhibited are especially deserving of our notice. The example found at Wiesbaden is the most perfect, and it will be seen by the accompanying scale, that from the point to the termination of the socket it is nearly four feet in length. Another, found near Worms, measures exactly four feet. A third, preserved in the Museum of Darmstadt, is three feet and a half long. That in the Museum of Wiesbaden, the lower portion of the socket of which is quadrangular, is about four feet in length; and the example found at Selzen, of which a drawing is given of the actual size, measures four feet two inches and a half.

Herr Lindenschmit informs me that four of these weapons were found in graves the contents of which are preserved, and leave no doubt whatever as to the age to which they may be ascribed.

J. Y. AKERMAN.

London, 15 May, 1854.

IX. *Remarks on the Angon of the Franks and the Pilum of Vegetius: in a Letter addressed by* W. M. Wylie, *Esq. B.A., F.S.A., to* J. Y. Akerman, *Esq., F.S.A., Secretary.*

Read January 18, 1855.

My Dear Sir,

Much has already been said on the Angon, and after the so full and interesting communication, illustrated by the able pencil of Herr Lindenschmit, with which you favoured us last season on this historic subject, any further comments may appear needless. At the risk of such an imputation, however, I shall beg permission to submit some additional gleanings, made during the past summer, of the attentive consideration of the Society.

In the public museum of Rheims are some exceedingly well preserved and interesting remains, of the Merovingian period, discovered in the vicinity of that ancient town. Among these records of past ages is a very good example of the Angon, of that type which we so lately had an opportunity of studying here in the careful drawings of Herr Lindenschmit—barbed, with a broad quadrangular point, and round iron stem about three feet long. Many similar weapons were also found in the same line of country at Remennecourt, a village near Bar-le-Duc, in Lorraine, during excavations for public works in the years 1838, 1839, and 1840, together with an immense mass of every description of arms, and other relics usually met with in Merovingian graves. The account of this find, by Mr. de Widranges, was published with copious illustrations, and the author not only rightly recognised the barbed spears for angons, but quotes the description of Agathias. The satisfactory labours of the Archæologists of Verdun do not however seem to have become generally known. As long after this discovery as 1850, we find the subject of the Angon propounded in a very able treatise in the Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie.[b] Not aware of the existence of the real Angon, the author confounds it with the *lancea uncata* of Sidonius Apollinaris,[c]

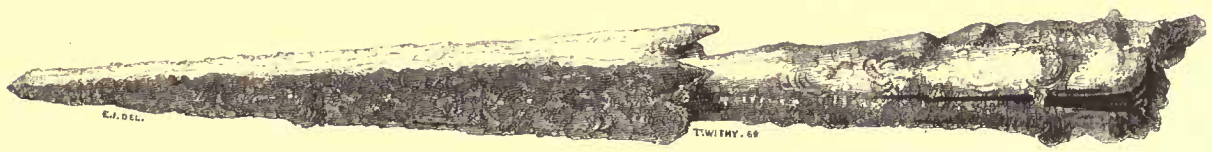
[a] Mémoires de la Société Philomathique de Verdun, vol. iii. p. 199.

[b] In vol. x. and entitled "Recherches Historiques sur les Peuples de la race Teutonique. Par M. le Dr. Rigollot."

[c] Archæologia, Vol. XXXV. p. 51.

an arm as peculiar, apparently, to the Salic Franks, as the Angon was to the Ripuarians.

Rheims was always a favourite position both with the Roman Emperors and their Merovingian successors. In consequence the town and surrounding country teem with antiquities of their times, which numerous modern improvements are daily revealing. The tri-lateral barbed weapon on the table is a present from the valuable cabinet of M. Duquenel, of Rheims, who unfortunately could give me no further particulars than that it was found, during the digging of a canal, together with a mass of other Roman remains. It is an interesting relic both from its rarity and historic authenticity, as also that some antiquaries have fancied it the prototype of the Angon. The Society will decide how far it corresponds with the account of the Roman *pilum* of the Lower Empire which Vegetius has left us. The



PILUM OF VEGETIUS.

account given by Polybius of the *pilum* of earlier times is so confessedly obscure and confused, that, great as was the experience of Montfaucon, we find him owning his inability to reconcile it with any known examples.[a] Vegetius[b] tells us that the darts used by the infantry in the Roman army were termed *pila*. These had a slender trilateral iron head—"ferro subtili trigono præfixa"—from nine inches to a foot in length, and, impelled by an able arm, were strong enough to pierce a breast-plate. This trilateral head must have been barbed, though it is not so expressly stated, for, he adds, it is not possible to remove the *pila* when once fixed in the shield—"in scuto fixa non possent abscindi." In another place Vegetius[c] recurs to this subject more minutely, and we learn that there were two kinds of these darts,—the one just named, with a triangular head nine inches long, and a staff five feet and a half long, which, well-driven, could transfix the foot-soldier through his shield, or the horseman through his cuirass. This weapon, he says, was formerly called *pilum*, but now *spiculum*. The other missile was similar but smaller, the head only measuring five inches, and the staff three feet and a half in length. This bore the name of *verrutum*. It will be seen how closely the weapon before us answers to the description of Vegetius. It is trilateral, and, allowing for

[a] Montfaucon, L'Antiquité expliquée, vol. iv. p. 63.

[b] Vegetius de re Militari, l. 1. c. 20. [c] Vegetius, lib. ii. c. 15.

the broken ferrule, it must have measured about nine inches in all, which was about the length of the *pilum;* or, if it be thought Vegetius did not mean to include the ferrule in his measurement, it would rather correspond to the smaller dart, the *verrutum.*[a]

It further appears that the *pilum* had fallen greatly into disuse with the Roman soldiery at this late period of the empire, in consequence, no doubt, of the neglect and impatience of military exercises which Vegetius laments. It was therefore mainly transferred to the more skilful hands of the barbarian mercenaries, with whom it went by the name of *bebra.* Two or three of these darts were borne in the hand at once to battle—a circumstance also related of the Franks by Sidonius Apollinaris.[b]

Historic evidence seems rather opposed to the opinion that the Angon was merely an imitation of the pilum. Agathias[c] speaks of the Angon as the native weapon—επιχωρια δορατα—of the Franks, and we can scarcely suppose him to have used this term had its use been acquired in the Roman ranks. When Vegetius, lamenting the degeneracy of his countrymen, states the pilum to have passed into the hands of barbarian stipendiaries, probably for the most part Ripuarian Franks, we merely infer that the early habits of the German warriors had fitted them for the use of a weapon similar to their own. I am indebted to your numismatic experience for the hint that a spear on the coins of Constantine and Constantius Gallus closely resembles the Angon alluded to in a former paper[d] as found in a Merovingian tomb near Metz. It in no way resembles the Roman darts described

BRASS COIN OF CONSTANTINE.

BRASS COIN OF CONSTANTIUS GALLUS.

by Vegetius, and it is possible that it is the Angon adopted as an emblem of

[a] Mr. Roach Smith has in his possession the sketches of several smaller *trilateral* iron weapons found in a Roman castrum on Hod Hill, near Blandford, Dorset. There was no admixture of British or Saxon relics, and, from the coins found with the arms, Mr. Smith considers the castrum to be of a date not later than Vespasian.

[b] "Lanceis dextræ refertæ." Lib. iv. Ep. 20

[c] Hist. lib. ii. c. 5.

[d] Archæologia, Vol. XXXV. p. 50.

Constantine's victory over the Franks in the early part of his reign. On the coins of Gallus the weapon appears still more conclusively as a triumphant weapon. To suppose such spears Roman would be a disregard of the statements of Vegetius, whose authority as a military writer is invaluable on all details of Roman arms and military service. But, as a French antiquary well remarks, "Ce n'est pas qu'aux derniers temps de l'Empire il n'y ait eu dans les milices Impériales un assez grand melange d'armes, provenant soit des nombreux auxiliaires, soit des changements introduits."[a]

It will also be remembered that during the latter part of Constantine's reign the Frankish auxiliaries obtained great influence at the Roman court, which was afterwards still further developed under his successors. Constantine raised the Frankish chiefs to the consular dignity, and, as we cannot conceive them to have discarded their national arms under any circumstances, the Angon must have been common enough at Rome.[b]

In what manner the Angon first became the distinguishing weapon of Frankish warfare—whether it was an alien imitation, or more probably a direct Oriental tradition of the race,—and why Agathias alone records its use, it would be in vain to inquire. To the monumental antiquary it cannot fail to be pleasing that modern inquiry has led to the discovery and the right application of a weapon concealed during so many ages from positive recognition.

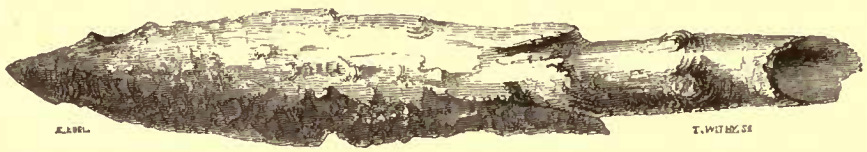
In addition to the examples of the Angon just quoted from Rheims, Remennecourt, and Metz, in France, the German districts of Bonn, Mayence, Wiesbaden, Worms, Greisch, and Elbringen in Baden have also furnished others. It will be remarked that these discoveries are mostly limited to the region of the Ripuarian Franks. Rheims and Remennecourt are more distant from the banks of the Moselle; but some historians have carried the first invasion of the Franks, under Pharamond, as far as Rheims, and beyond that ancient city very few examples have been found. The accumulated mass of arms found during the excavations of Remennecourt might lead us to fancy the interments there consequent on one of the great battles in which the Franks were prominently engaged, on the plains of Champagne, in the fifth century and later, rather than on the gradual, natural lapse of a village population.

The Abbé Cochet tells me that in the whole course of his researches in Normandy, during which he has opened above a thousand Frankish graves, he has

[a] Sépultures de la Vallée de l'Eaulne, par M. J. P. Feret.

[b] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. 17.

only met with one single specimen of the Angon.[a] This fact concurs to prove the



ANGON OF THE FRANKS.

use of the weapon confined to the Ripuarian Franks.

On referring to the preceding papers in Archæologia on this subject, it will at once be seen that the several spears termed Angons, though somewhat differing in their conformation, are but varieties of the same weapon. The strong re-curved barbs—καμπύλαι ἀκίδες—of the example preserved in the Musée de l'Artillerie, correspond with the description of the Byzantine historian better than the Rhenish Angons, the slighter barbs of which are mostly collapsed. Length of iron stem, or socket, is not insisted on in the narrative; in fact we are at liberty to infer the very reverse, since we find the spear-staff was protected by a thin iron sheathing—σιδήρῳ περιέχεται. The object had in view was lightness, and security to the staff from a sword-cut, as will be seen on a careful study of the original text of Agathias. There is, however, no more reason for expecting precise uniformity in the details of the Angon, than in those of any other weapon. The examples given probably represent the varying workmanship of armourers, widely dissevered by time and space during the long period of its use among the Frankish tribes.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Sincerely yours,

W. M. WYLIE.

United University Club, Dec. 23, 1854.

[a] The Angon referred to was found last September in a grave at Envermeu, near the head of a skeleton, together with a very short lance-head. The stem of the Angon is round; the length being forty inches English measure.—Normandie Souterraine, 2nd ed. p. 352.

X. *Remarks on the supposed submerged City of Vineta, by* R. H. Major, *Esq. F.S.A. In a Letter to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H. Director.*

Read 15th February, 1855.

Dear Sir Henry, British Museum, Feb. 10, 1855.

In the year 1847 you published in the Archæologia an interesting letter addressed by a Mr. Churchman to Sir Joseph Banks, respecting the tradition of a city named Vineta, which was supposed to have been submerged on the shores of Pomerania. The circumstance that a city of such size, wealth, and commercial importance, as to have been described as "Maxima civitatum Europæ," should have been not only obliterated from the face of the earth, but almost from the memory of man, gave me an interest in investigating the statements of early authors respecting its history and situation. My researches, however, brought under my notice so much that was either doubtful or contradictory, that I could come to no definite conclusion upon either point, and became content to lay the subject aside till more decisive evidence might chance to fall under my notice.

It was therefore with great interest that I read the letter addressed to you by Miss A. Gurney, in 1851, in which I found that some of the ground of my own researches had been travelled over, and, although my points of inquiry remained still unsettled thereby, I could not but remark with admiration the amount of reading which was so unpretendingly comprised within the compass of a couple of pages. As might be supposed, such laborious investigators as the Germans have not been wanting in industrious research in a question of so much interest, and to the deductions of several local as well as Danish writers Miss Gurney has already referred.

It would indeed be tedious to give even a passing reference to the many authors who during the last hundred years have made this question their study, but who, after a pains-taking and shrewd collation of the statements of a wide range of early historians, have differed among themselves in their ultimate conclusions. In spite of all their arguments the one opinion still held its ground. That there once was a city, situated on the shores of the island of Usedom, near the Swine mouth of the Oder, seemed to be proved to demonstration by the fact that stones of great magnitude, which lay in remarkable regularity, had been seen for many centuries

beneath the surface of the water at the point referred to; and that that city was Vineta, was concluded from the repeated mention made by local and other historians, of a city of great importance, the resort of the northern sea-kings, to which that name had been given, and which had existed somewhere in that region. This general belief was recorded in the earliest maps of Pomerania that were ever engraved, and has held its ground even in the great "Neptune du Cattegat," published in 1809, not to mention maps of less pretension of a much more recent date, which have unhesitatingly copied the data of their predecessors. Tradition joined these links of evidence into a chain, and novelists, poets, and dramatists, attracted by the romantic character of the legend, ratified the story in the pages of fiction.

So late as 1832 Mœrike introduced by way of episode, in his novel entitled "Maler Nolten," a play based upon the story of Vineta; and still later, in 1837, Wilhelm Meinhold, the author of the charming story of "The Amber Witch," has defended the tradition in his "Humoristische Reisebilder."

So great a mass of assertion and apparent evidence might seem to render nugatory all further discussion; but as of the two classes of evidence, ocular and historical, on which the story had been founded, the former has been demolished by actual exploration, and the latter overruled by the close and careful scrutiny of the most recent and at the same time the most learned Slavonic historians, I have thought it might not prove uninteresting to the Society of Antiquaries if I laid these results before their notice. In so doing, however, I do not propose to content myself with the mere refutation of an old fable, however long it may have been believed, but hope to be able to show where this "Maxima civitatum Europæ" really stood, and at the same time to quote the remarks of a very high Slavonian authority upon the authenticity of the name of Vineta itself.

And first as regards the supposed remains beneath the surface of the water. In Martin Rango's "Notæ et animadversiones" to Hartknock's "Origines Pomeranicæ," a diagram is given of the appearance of the stones as seen and described by Lubecchius, Alderman of Treptow, in the visit referred to in Mr. Churchman's letter. The perfect regularity as well as great extent of these stones, placed at right angles, and covering an area larger, as he thought, than that of Stralsund or Rostock, seemed to leave no doubt that what was seen had been the result of human arrangement, and was in fact the ruins of a large city. In 1779 Johann Friedrich Zöllner, Oberconsistorial Rath and Probst in Berlin, published his journey through Pomerania to the Island of Rugen, in which he brings together all the various legends and statements, both oral and from books, which he could

light upon in connection with these ruins, together with his own personal inspection of them. The details are interesting; but for the sake of brevity I merely give his conclusions. He says "For a long period we had accounts admitting of no doubt respecting the city of Julin. The people of Pomerania were convinced that it stood upon the Island of Wollin. Then from Helmold and Cranzius we became informed of a city called Vineta. For a long time one did not know where to fix its locality. At length some one who busied his brains much upon the subject (for the origin of the report is quite unknown) heard from a sailor that on the coast of Usedom were to be seen what look like the remains of a city with walls, and towers, and gates. He greedily seized this welcome communication, and possibly at first only said, 'these *might* have been the ruins of Vineta.' In a short time the conjecture was resolved into a certainty, and was circulated so frequently from mouth to mouth, and from pen to pen, that at last no doubt was left upon the subject, especially as it became corroborated by the circumstantial account of Lubecchius, and as every sailor, who could see from the same point that I did the breaking of the waters against the rocks, declared that he had seen the ruins of Vineta." Our traveller coneludes by making an appeal to the friends of antiquarian investigation in his fatherland, to get up a subscription for the purpose of examining the spot, in such a manner as to set at rest all doubt upon the subject, and engages to open it himself with a deposit of four Frederichs d'or, but we have not learned that the invitation was responded to.

So great was the interest taken by Wilhelm Meinhold, the author of the Amber Witch, in the pursuit of his favourite idea that Vineta had stood upon the site in question, that, in the year 1836, he made an appeal to the committee of the Society which publishes the Baltische Studien, to have the ground inspected with the diving-bell. In consequence of this appeal they set about making inquiries as to what explorations of a similar nature had previously been made, and the result has educed the most conclusive evidence upon the subject that had yet appeared. The account is given in the 7th Jahrgang of the Baltische Studien, Heft 1, p. 248 et seq. Stettin, 1840. In the first place they learned by inquiries of Herr Krause, Geheime Commerzienrath, that about forty years before he had employed a diver recommended by an English captain, and that this man had during ten hours on a clear day dived a great number of times and at various places on the reef, and discovered nothing but stones bearing no evidence of human handicraft or arrangement. Secondly, They questioned Herr Scabell, the superintendent of works for building the Harbour of Swinemunde, which was constructed in 1827, and he declared that he had himself inspected the reef and found no indications either of

ruins or of stones placed in regular order. Thirdly, On receiving from Starcke, the harbour inspector at Swinemunde, a similar account, they procured from him a protocol or statement of the observations made during the construction of that harbour, of which I here give the translation.

"We have every year, from the commencement of the building of this harbour, broken off with clippers a great many stones from the reef Vineta, and delivered them here at Swinemunde in our boats. During these innumerable times that we have been on the reef, we have had sufficient opportunity to learn exactly its form and position. Moreover, as we have carried away all the large transportable stones, and clearly seen during the calm weather every object down to twenty feet deep, we can give the result of our investigations in no other words but that the reef is as it were an island situated in the Baltic, about one-eighth of a mile (German) from the mainland, and consists of layers of large granite stones, which are partly lying on granite, and partly in chalk and clay. No trace of any regularity have we found, and in our opinion there is no sign of any old submerged place. We have further to observe that it is clearly visible that the reef in which the granite stones are placed has a combination of whitish blue and yellow stripes at the bottom of the sea. The stones in the chalk are so firm that they could not be broken off at all, or only with the greatest effort. Where the reef is highest the water at present is at the utmost the depth of four and a half Rhenish feet, although there are other places where there is more than from eighteen to twenty-four feet of water."

After reviewing these various replies, all agreeing with each other, the Committee regarded it as useless to make any further explorations with the diving-bell.

So much by way of evidence as to where Vineta was not. It will now be my endeavour to show what Vineta was, and where it stood, from the statements of contemporary or very early historians. Before commencing the task, however, I would take leave to translate the words of the Swedish author Lindfors, who published a "Dissertatio Historica" on the subject at Lund, in 1806, where he says, "The things which are related concerning the early history of this city are so dispersed through a variety of authors, and also in some respects so obscure and contradictory, that he who shall attempt to bring them all together, and to reconcile the different opinions of different writers upon the subject, will indeed undertake 'onus gravissimum aut potius intolerabile.'" My own investigations, in which I have been greatly assisted by my friend Mr. Zedner of the British Museum, have shewn me the correctness of this observation, and I should have no hope of

ensuring either clearness or brevity, but by passing aside all the perplexities arising from the conjectures or imperfect quotations of disputants, and adhering only to the statements of the earliest authorities.

Apart from the question of the site on the shores of Usedom, the discussion has mainly been whether the various names of Vineta, Julin, Jumne, and Jomsborg, mentioned in early historians, do or do not represent one and the same city, and if they do, whether that city did not occupy the site of the modern city of Wollin on the island of that name. Of those who, admitting the disproval of the existence of the ruins, discarded the very name of Vineta itself as having only had existence in a copyist's mistranscription, some have deemed the city which had been really referred to under that name to have been identical with Julin, Jumne, and Jomsborg; while others regard them as representing three different cities, but which they are quite at a loss to find localities for. Of the latter, Giesebrecht in his "Wendische Geschichten," and of the former, Barthold, in his "Geschichte von Rügen und Pommern," are amongst the latest and most authoritative supporters.

In the attempt to lay before you what appears to me conclusive evidence upon this *vexata quæstio*, I propose to demonstrate that all these various names represent one and the same city, and that it stood on the site of the modern city of Wollin, in the island of that name. For this purpose, I think I shall best meet the requirements of the entire argument, by treating at the commencement of the earliest mention of the name of Vineta. It first occurs in print as transcribed from the manuscript of Helmold, Curate of Bosow in (Lubeck ?) who wrote between the years 1160 and 1170, and who describes the city in the following language:*

"The other river, that is, the Oder, turning northwards, passes through the midst of the people of the Winuli, separating the Pomerani from the Wilzi. At

* Alter fluvius, id est, Odora, vergens in Boream, transit per medios Winulorum populos dividens Pomeranos a Wilzis ; in cujus ostio, qua Balticum alluit pelagus, quondam fuit nobilissima civitas Vinneta, præstans celeberrimam stationem barbaris et Græcis qui sunt in circuitu. De cujus præconio urbis quia magna quædam et vix credibilia recitantur, libet aliqua commemorare, digna relatu. Fuit sane maxima omnium quas Europa claudit civitatum, quam incolunt Slavi cum aliis gentibus permixtis Græcis et barbaris, nam et advenæ Saxones parem cohabitandi licentiam acceperunt, si tantum Christianitatis titulum ibi commorantes non publicassent. Omnes enim usque ad excidium ejusdem urbis, paganicis ritibus oberrarunt. Cæterum moribus et hospitalitate nulla gens honestior aut benignior potuit inveniri. Civitas illa mercibus omnium nationum locuples, nihil non habuit jucundi aut rari. Hanc civitatem opulentissimam quidam Danorum rex maxima classe stipatus, funditus evertisse refertur. Præsto sunt adhuc antiquæ illius civitatis monumenta. Ibi cernitur Neptunus triplicis naturæ. Tribus enim fretis alluitur illa insula, quorum aiunt unum viridissimæ esse speciei, alteram subalbidæ, tertium motu furibundo perpetuis sævit tempestatibus."

the mouth of which river, where it falls into the Baltic, was formerly a most noble city, called Vinneta, affording a most excellent station for the surrounding barbarians and Greeks. Concerning the praises of which city, as many great and almost incredible things are related thereof, I should wish to mention some facts worthy of record. It was in truth the largest of all the cities in Europe, and inhabited by Sclavonians intermixed with other nations both Greeks and barbarians. Even the Saxons who came to it were granted an equal liberty of taking up their abode therein, provided only that while they remained in it they did not mention the name of Christianity. For all the inhabitants even up to the destruction of the city went astray in pagan observances. In morals, and in hospitality, however, there could be found no nation of greater worthiness or kindness. The city was rich in the merchandize of all nations, and was wanting in no sort of pleasant or rare commodity. A certain king of the Danes is said to have besieged this most wealthy city with a large fleet, and to have overthrown it. There still remain some monuments of this ancient city. On its site the sea is observed to have a triple character. For the island is washed by three friths, one of which is said to be green, the second of a pale white, and the third to rage with a violent motion under the action of constant storms."

Now, with a very slight change of words, this description is identical with that given by Adamus Bremensis, of a city which he calls *Julinum*, in his "Historia Ecclesiastica" written between the years 1072 and 1076. Hence, whether we regard the name of Vineta as corrupted by mistaken or careless transcription, or whether the name be considered as genuine and true, we have two distinct names given by ancient historians for one and the self-same city. That the name of Vineta should have been discarded by some as an oft-repeated mistranscription is referrible to the fact that different copyists of Helmold have transcribed it under the various forms of Niniveta, Immuveta, and Jumneta. I would here however state *en passant* that this is not the view taken of the matter by Schafarik, who, I believe, is acknowledged to be the greatest authority on Sclavonian antiquities. He holds the name to be genuine, and in the "Jahrbuch fur Slawische Literatur 1846" has given his reasons, which I will take leave hereafter to quote.

But further, if the records of the early historians and Northern Sagas are not utterly to be set at nought, the city thus described by Adamus Bremensis and Helmold can be shown to be identical with that which such early historians and Sagas speak of under the names of Jumne and Jomsborg. Thus where Adamus Bremensis speaks of the flight and death of Harold, the Danish king, he calls the town to which he fled *Julinum*, but with the alias of Jumno, given in the margin

by his Scholiast, while Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote between 1187 and 1208 speaking of the same circumstance, calls it Julin. Moreover, Adamus Bremensis uses the word *Juminum*, in two or three places in his text, for the same city. And at the same time it is not unimportant to notice that one of the readings by the transcribers of Helmold's MSS. above referred to calls it *Jumneta*, a word which, exclusive of the Latin termination, so closely coincides with the form of word in question. So much for the terms Vineta, Julinum, and Jumne.

Now that the city bearing, from whatever cause, these several designations, was also identical with that known at the present day as Wollin, on the island of the same name, and also with Jomsborg, is thus, I think, demonstrable. In the first place, the biographers of the Bishop Otto of Bamberg, some of whom accompanied that prelate in his journeys into Pomerania, in the years 1124 and 1128, called the city converted by him Julin, although in the Bull of Pope Innocent II. constituting that place a bishopric in 1140, and also in the chronicles of the Abbot of Ursberg in 1230, where Otto is likewise mentioned, the same city is called Wulin. Moreover in archives of the dates of 1168, 1175, and 1185, one and the same person, the Burgrave Wenceslaus, is once called Castellanus Juliensis, and twice Castellanus de Wolyn. Finally, in Kadlubek (about 1220) the expression occurs, "Julin quod nunc Welin dicitur."

Wolin, Welin, Wulin, are Sclavonian forms of dialect regularly constructed by modification of the *o* into *e* and *u*, for which Schafarik gives the following comparative examples. Compare Welynjane used by Nestor in lieu of Wolynjane, the Polish Wielun, and the name of the Polish village Wolka read for Wulka; also Wuloini instead of Woliner used by Witikind, Burislaf instead of Borislaw in the Scandinavian legends, &c. Julin is the German pronunciation, originally derived, according to Thunmann and Barthold (a most distinguished writer upon the antiquities of Pomerania) from the Danish, who change the initial *w* into *j*; and that the Germans really pronounced it Julin, we see from this name being connected with that of Julius Cæsar by Herbord, and other biographers of Saint Otto.

That Jomsborg, a city renowned in the Northern Sagas, especially that known by the name of the Jomsvikinga Saga, as the resort of the celebrated Vikings, is identical with Julin and Wollin, is shown from two Icelandic fragments, describing the death of the Danish King Harold, respectively in the following terms, latinized by Langebek, in whose work they are given. The first occurs thus (t. 2. p. 149): "Ex hoc prælio Haraldus Rex saucius in Vindlandiam fugit et prope Jomsburgum festo omnium sanctorum expiravit" (the original Icelandic being, "andadiz vid Jomsborg.") The second (t. 2. p. 425) thus: "Haraldus Rex,

saucius factus in Vandaliam Jomsburgum fugit, ubi omnium sanctorum festo mortuus est," while Adamus Bremensis describes the same event as follows:— " Ascensâ navi elapsus est ad civitatem Slavorum quæ Julinum dicitur."

Moreover while the Jomsvikinga Saga itself, which is the legend or story of the Jomsvikings or Pirates of the Baltic, calls their city Jomsborg, there could be no doubt that the said Jomsvikings are identical with the " Piratæ Julinenses " of Saxo Grammaticus, even were the fact not distinctly asserted by Stephanius the early annotator of that author's work.

Much discussion and many surmises have arisen with respect to the date of the destruction of the ancient city. The truth is, there are records of the city having been destroyed either partially or entirely three several times. In the first place, it was laid waste in 1043 by the Danish king Magnus, and it was this overthrow that originated, as Schafarik infers from the Scholiast of Adam, from Snorre Sturleson, and the Knytlinga-Saga, the legend of its submersion. If this inference be correct, however, the rebuilding must have been speedily accomplished, as Adamus Bremensis, in his description above referred to, writes of the city in the present tense, while Helmold, who wrote nearly a century after in almost the same language, says, " quondam fuit " and " hanc civitatem quidam Danorum rex funditus evertisse refertur." This is explained by the fact that between the years 1116-1119 Niels king of Denmark, with his son Magnus, and the Polish prince Boleslaw, took the place and destroyed it with fire. What may more fairly be called the ultimate downfall of the city took place in 1172, when Waldemar, another king of the Danes, again destroyed the city by fire, after its inhabitants had fled to Cammin, which facts are derived from the Knytlinga-Saga, as well as from the statements of Sweno Aggeson, an eye-witness of the occurrence, his expression being, " Mœnia ego Sueno solo conspexi æquari."

The foregoing testimony of ancient witnesses as to the identity of the towns Jumin, Julin, and Jomsborg, receives the most ample confirmation, says Schafarik, in those proofs of the antiquity, power, and extensive commerce of the town of Wollin, which we obtain from other sources. That Wollin was celebrated far and wide as a most flourishing town in the tenth century, we find proved by the number of old Arabic coins and other gems and ornaments which have been dug up from time to time on its site, and in the environs, since the seventeenth century up to the present period. These coins chiefly belong to the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, *i. e.* to the times of the Abassides as Caliphs of Bagdad, and the Samanides as rulers of Samarcand, and scarcely ever are later than the first half of the eleventh century. This is fully explained by the destruction of the caliphate,

the annihilation of the Slavonian traffic in the Baltic, and the invasion of the intermediate nations of Kozari and Bulgari. These coins, gems, and metallic ornaments are no where found in equal profusion, variety, and freshness, except in the most celebrated and powerful commercial cities of ancient times in the North, as in Novgorod, Wisby, Danzig, Traunsee, Kolberg, Sleswick, &c. Another reason, which is of importance in combination with the preceding, consists in the popular tradition of the former greatness and celebrity of the town, which is actually confirmed by many heaps of remains and ruins, which were to be seen about the present town of Wollin in the sixteenth century.

The objection which has been offered that Helmold speaks of Vineta as having been destroyed, though Wollin was still flourishing at the time he wrote, is thus met by Schafarik. If, he says, we apply Helmold's testimony to the sacking and destruction of the town, which was afterwards rebuilt, the argument may very well be accepted; but it will hold good in no other way. When Helmold quoted and copied the testimony of the Scholiast of Adam relating to the destruction of Julin in 1043, he twisted the same, misled by some fabricated tradition, into an entire annihilation. That Vineta was not razed to the ground in 1043 is evident from the report of Adam of Bremen, about the flourishing state of Jumin in 1072-1076; and that Helmold's Wineta is indeed the Jumin of Adam of Bremen has been already shown, for Helmold knows and reports no more of this town than he copies from Adam and his Scholiast, with some trifling alteration of diction. But Helmold (it is further objected) only made use of the words of the Scholiast of Adam for the purposes of style in description, while for his real subject he had the later destruction of Wineta about 1116-1119 in mind. The thing is improbable enough indeed; but, if we were to suppose it so, Helmold's account of the siege and sacking of the town of Wollin cannot refer to the destruction of any other town at the mouth of the Oder, because history does not make mention of any town of consequence situated there, and that we should have lost every trace of a commercial town of equal importance on this coast would be highly improbable.

On the ground of such evidence, both ocular and historical, as that which I have endeavoured to embody in the foregoing remarks, many students have, as I have already stated, been inclined to regard the name of Vineta as entirely apocryphal. Schafarik, however, holds by the opinion that the name is genuine, and upon the following grounds, which I give in his own words.

First. In all forms of this name the ending *ta* is found, which could not be derived from the word Jumne.

Second. Very ancient writers quoting from Helmold have thus read the name, and chiefly referred it to the Wenden; Kirchberg, writing in 1378, on the other

hand, says, "Von der stad Wynnetha nennet man sy Winthi." The anonymous chronologist of Susel (about 1418) has *lunneta*, certainly erroneously, but evidently instead of *uinneta* (*vi* and *lu* at the beginning of a word being frequently confounded in old manuscripts, as the *i* is written without a dot, and all the letters are small.) Cranzius says, "Dixere Winetam ab gente Winitorum." The anonymous author of Lubeck also says the same.

Third. The name of Wineta was really in use in Germany as given to other Slavonian settlements, for example, "Groninche quod dicitur Wenethen," in an old chronicle of the year 936; Winethâhusam, Wendenheimath, of 937, 1022, 1062; archives of Winethe of the years 1022, 1064; Weinetheburch (Winnetheburch) 1179, analogous with the Slavonian name of Slowensk (an ancient town by the Beresina in the government of Wilno), the name of Njemcy in Silesia, &c.; as well as with many in other languages, as for example, Madzary in the Caucasus by the Kuma, &c. both with regard to its formation and meaning. That the same place may have different names, not only amongst different races, which is of common occurrence, but amongst different tribes of the same race, we have an example in the name of Stargardt in Wagrien, which place was called Oldenburg by the Saxons, and Brannesia by the Danes. It is possible that the name of Wineta was only current in popular use among one or more branches of the German race, and that it only originated when the legend of the destruction, or rather sacking, of a large Slavonian town at the mouth of the Oder became more generally circulated. In the same manner as Wineta appears to be a provincial, so Hynnisburgh (*i. e.* Hunnish or Slavonian burgh) and Waltsburg (*i. e.* the burgh of Weleten or Weltzen) appear to be rather poetical names of the once world-famed Wollin, as the former occurs in Sweno, and the latter in the Wilkin Saga or legend of Wilkin.

Whatever weight may be attached to these learned but conjectural observations of so great an authority as Schafarik as to the name of Vineta, its first occurrence in printed history has been already clearly shown. It remains for me to mention that among the early writers on Pomeranian antiquities since the discovery of printing, Albertus Cranzius was the first to repeat the name with an amplification of the grandeur of the city, and in his wake followed Micrælius, Bugenhagius, and a host of others of accepted authority.

By none of these, however, was the position of Wineta so distinctly defined as to prevent the fallacious conclusions to which the submarine appearances off the island of Usedom gave rise, and which they have tended to confirm for so long a series of years.

I remain, dear Sir Henry, with great respect, yours very truly,

R. H. MAJOR.

XI. *A further Notice of Vineta, in a Letter addressed to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H., F.R.S., Director, from* K. R. H. Mackenzie, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read March 22, 1855.

Dear Sir Henry, 60, Berners Street, Oxford Street, March 22, 1855.

Mr. Major's paper on the subject of the so-called city of Vineta, lately read before the Society of Antiquaries, together with the interest which I know you to have in the question, afford a sufficient apology for the few lines I now address to you, for communication to the Society.

In 1851, while on a visit in Pomerania, I took advantage of my vicinity to the island of Usedom, to visit the reef of rocks with which the legend of Vineta has become connected. At the foot of the Streckelberg are situated the rocks in question, and, although some of the stones have very fantastic forms, there is certainly nothing to explain how it happened that the place should be so associated with the idea of a town. Still I found, although my boatman himself was a sceptic, that the countrypeople thereabouts believed in the story of a sunken city, destroyed, like the cities of the Plain of the Dead Sea, for its idolatry and wickedness, and also associated with the place traditions of immense but concealed wealth, with the ordinary accompaniment of a spirit to watch it.

It is curious to read in Kantzow (ob. 1542) a description of the place, as it appeared to a visitor who believed in the story. As Mr. Major did not seem to me to refer to his visit, I may be excused for translating the passage (Hoch Deutsche Chronik, ed. Meden, lib. ii. pp. 34 et seq.) :—"And it is true," says the worthy man, "that the remains (of Vineta) exist to the present day; for on the way across the Peene from Wolgast into Usedom, there is a village named Damerow, about two miles (German) from Wolgast, where, about a quarter of a mile to sea (the ocean having encroached upon the land thus much since then) one may see great stones and foundations. I, as well as others, have rowed thither, and examined them carefully. There is now no brickwork visible at the place; so many hundred years have passed since the destruction of the city that it is impossible for any to have remained in that stormy sea. The great foundation stones, however, are still there, lying in rows in the usual way that they are placed under houses, one by one, and here and there one above another. Some of these stones are so tall as to reach ell-high above the water, so that it is believed that their

churches and assembly houses stood in those parts. The other stones plainly show the direction of the streets, by the order in which they lie, stretched along the length and breadth of the city. The fishermen told me that the paving-stones of the streets were in some parts still entire, but covered with sea-moss (*uebermoset*), and therefore not to be seen, although with a long pointed pole or lance they might easily be felt. Thus were the stones laid; and, as we rowed over the city, we saw that the place was built lying from east to west. On account of the depth of the sea, however, we could not tell how great the extent of the place was, but, from what we saw, we thought it about the size of Lübeck, a short quarter of a mile in length, but broader than Lübeck."

Thus far Kantzow; and, with the sole exception of his having idealised a great deal, his description fits the present time very well. A more useful purpose than supplying a subject for literary controversy, however, has now been made of the rocks, as they have been employed in constructing a new pier and harbour at Swinemünde. The place, my fisherman told me, was much frequented by bathers from the Baltic Brighton, Misdroy, on the island of Wollin, who came to stare at the remains of the sunken city.

In Kantzow's account of the history of Vineta, Helmold's version of Adam of Bremen's History of Julin, or Jumne, the present Wollin, is applied to that city. Still it is evident, from his reference to the three seas surrounding the island of Wollin, that Kantzow was not thinking at the moment of the site of Vineta at the Streckelberg, although, with the confusion which compilers of his standing seem to be tormented with, he refers to his visit to Usedom almost in the same breath.

In Saxo Grammaticus, Harald, when unseated by Schwenotto, fled to Wollin; in Helmold he fled to Vineta; but in every other particular the history of the destruction of the two places is identical. Schwenotto in both instances came down upon the place and desolated it, in consequence of the refuge afforded to Harald. Kantzow gives no account of the submersion of Vineta by the waves.

While numerous coins, not only Wendic, but Kufic, Byzantine, and Italian, have been found in the ruins of ancient Jumne, about a mile north-east of modern Wollin, I have never been able to find any mention of similar discoveries at the Streckelberg reef, nor did I hear of any on my visit.

I am therefore led to the conclusion that the history of the grandeur and fall of Vineta is to be referred to Julin solely, and that if an origin be sought for the name of Vineta, it might be found in Rügen, where Tacitus (I think in the Germania) locates the head-quarters of the Veneti.

I remain, dear Sir Henry, yours faithfully,

K. R. H. MACKENZIE.

XII. *Account of a Manuscript, by Thomas Norton, Member of Parliament for, and Remembrancer to, the City of London, relating to the ancient Duties of the Lord Mayor and Corporation. In a Letter from* J. Payne Collier, *Esq., Vice-President, to* Thomas Lott, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read March 22, 1855.

My dear Sir,

The recent investigations respecting the Charter of the City of London, and the manner in which it has worked, may seem to give particular interest to a manuscript to which I take the liberty to direct your attention and that of the Fellows of our Society. It is entitled—

"An Exhortation or Rule, set down by Mr. Norton, some time Remembrancer of London, whereby the Lord Mayor of London is to order himself and the City."

This document forms part of a quarto MS. volume, which has been for some time in my possession, which includes copies of a variety of other curious and important papers, and which was formerly the property of Sir Christopher Hatton, the celebrated Lord Chancellor of England, more remarkable for his disqualifications than for any fitness for the office. He, however, had the discretion to surround himself with lawyers, and it may be doubted whether, on the whole, equity was not as well administered from 1587 to 1591 as at many previous periods.

The ownership of the volume by Sir Christopher Hatton is proved, not merely by his autograph on both sides of the vellum cover, but by corrections in his own handwriting, and by the fact that the collection is preceded by a manuscript dedication to him, subscribed by a person of the name of Thomas Mynatts. This dedication is also material, since it ascertains the source from which the original papers, copied upon 150 closely-written pages, were derived. Hence it appears that Mynatts had been one of the clerks of the Star Chamber; that the documents he transcribed had been the property of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and that they had been given to Mynatts by Anthony Bacon, then abroad, who, as is well known, was once the proprietor of that vast mass of valuable MSS. now deposited at Lambeth. Mynatts also mentions Anthony Bacon's gifted brother Francis,

and tells Sir Christopher Hatton that he (Mynatts) had prepared and presented to the same patron a collection of what he calls "the discourses" of Sir Nicholas Bacon, as well as abstracts of the treasons of Ballard, Babbington, and others, "whom, with great zeal and justice, and to your never-dying honour, both with God and men, you (Sir Christopher) did worthily and christianly pursue even to the death." Thus the source from which these various papers came, and the hands through which they passed, give us the fullest assurance of their authenticity, independently of any internal evidence afforded by their contents. One of these is the document I have selected as the subject of this letter.

Biographically it is of considerable interest, recollecting that it is the authorship of a man no less celebrated than Thomas Norton, the joint writer of the tragedy of "Gorboduc," the earliest blank-verse production of a dramatic kind in our language. His coadjutor in it was Thomas Sackville, who afterwards became Baron Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer of England. It establishes a new and not an unimportant fact in Norton's history, with which my friend Mr. W. D. Cooper was not acquainted when he wrote the memoirs of the two authors of "Gorboduc," preceding the reprint of that drama by the Shakespeare Society. I need hardly add that I was entirely ignorant of it, when I had occasion to speak of Norton and Sackville in my History of our early National Stage. Mr. W. D. Cooper was aware that Norton was for a considerable period one of the counsel for the Corporation of London; but neither he, nor any one else knew till now, that, when the paper under consideration was drawn up, he filled the lucrative and influential office of City Remembrancer. It is stated distinctly by Mynatts, who was his contemporary, that Norton had been called upon, in his capacity of Remembrancer, to prepare the instructions in question for the information and guidance of the first magistrate.

Norton died, as Mr. W. D. Cooper correctly informs us, in 1584; but we are able very distinctly to fix the date of this "exhortation or rule" (so Mynatts terms it), because Norton speaks of Mr. James Hawes as the Lord Mayor to whom it was addressed, and of Sir Alexander Avenon as one of his predecessors in office. It appears from Stow's Survey (I refer to the edition superintended, in 1842, by our friend and Fellow Mr. Thoms) that Sir Alexander Avenon was Lord Mayor in 1569; that Sir Rowland Heyward, also mentioned by Norton, was Lord Mayor in 1570; and that James Hawes, in whose mayoralty Norton wrote, filled the same office in 1574. Therefore 1574 is the precise year in which the MS. to which I am adverting was composed, which was ten years anterior to the demise of the author of it.

It was evidently, and avowedly, only the comprehensive introduction, or preface, to a much larger and more detailed work upon the particular duties of the Lord Mayor, and upon the manner in which he was to derive assistance and advice from the Court of Aldermen, as well as from the Common Council. It must have been a volume of much bulk, judging from what Norton says of it; but what has since become of it I am unable to state. It is, I believe, a fact that the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, or *Cronica Majorum et Vicecomitum Londiniarum* (printed by the Camden Society in 1846), once, in some mysterious way, made its escape from the archives of the City to which it belongs: we cannot, therefore, much wonder if this treatise by Norton, following up the purposes of the older work, should not now be forthcoming. However, it may be discovered, and, if it be, we hope that, like the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, it will be printed. It must have contained highly curious and interesting matter regarding the then regulations and ordinances of the magistrates and the customs and habits of the citizens of London.

Norton commences his exhortation in the following words:—

"There be many reasons, which I ought not to doubt, that you do daily call to mind the weight of your charge in the office of Lord Mayor of London."

He does not tell the Lord Mayor, James Hawes, that he does not doubt that he daily reflects on the burden of his duties, but merely that he "ought not" to doubt it, thereby implying, perhaps, that there was some reason to doubt it, although he does not inform us what were his grounds for hesitation. When he proceeds to say, "You are to remember how great a thing is the Lord Mayor," the expression is again a little equivocal; but the writer certainly refers to the dignity and importance of the situation, for he goes on to remind Mr. James Hawes, whom he especially addresses, that the City of London is "the imperial chamber of so great a prince as our Sovereign Lady, the immediate Lieutenant of the most great and mighty God." He adds subsequently, "Our Sovereign Lady, whom you shall serve, is the most nobly natured prince in the world, and therewith both so wise, as she would not so far have trusted you, if she had not been resolved well to trust you, and so gracious, as she will well allow of all true, plain, and honest meaning in all your predecessors, and most expressly in your worshipfull brother and friend Sir Alexander Avenon, hath appeared: and, above all other things, her Highness is so tenderly minded to her City of London, as the well guiding thereof cannot but be, in her consideration, a most allowed and pleasant service."

A little adulation of this kind was, of course, to be expected; and from hence

Norton takes occasion to enumerate the aids the Lord Mayor might obtain from the Aldermen, the members of the Common Council, and from particular officers, enumerating the Recorder, the Common Serjeant, the Town Clerk, and a "wise and well-esteemed Solicitor." I mention this functionary in particular, with the epithets applied to him, because it relates to a point of some little importance in the history of the legal advisers of the City of London. Norton had himself been, as already stated, one of the Counsel of the City, and he mentions the Solicitor as a distinct office in 1574; but my friend Mr. W. D. Cooper, in a note to his Memoir of Norton, before referred to, tells us that, in Norton's time, "the office of City Solicitor, as distinct from City Counsel, did not exist;" and he subjoins as a matter of fact, upon which I dare say he was well informed, that the "earliest record in the Solicitor's office is in 1607." Still, although Norton speaks of the "wise and well-esteemed Solicitor" of the City, it is very possible that, at the period when he was writing, the duties of Solicitor might be performed by one of the City Counsel under the name of Solicitor. I only adduce Norton's evidence to shew that, when he was City Remembrancer, the office known as City Solicitor did exist, either separately, or in combination.[a]

It appears that, when Norton wrote this Exhortation, two books relating to the history, powers, and duties of the Magistrates of London, &c. were extant. "You have," he observes, "the ancient and late book of the City, the doings of your predecessors recorded, and their steps traced out." The "ancient book" was, of course, the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus;* but Norton does not give us any mark by which we should know what he terms "the late book of the City," unless he mean that work which he had himself compiled, and to which this Exhortation was a species of preface. It is the more probable that he alluded to his own labours, because, just afterwards, he tells us that he had proceeded with his undertaking by the request of the Corporation, and especially at the instance

[a] Since the above was written, Mr. W. D. Cooper has been enabled to make some further inquiries on the subject; and, in a note dated 5th April, 1855, he has kindly communicated to me the result: he says, "It is clear that in your MS., when Norton talks of Solicitor, he means Counsel, the same as the Queen's Solicitor or Attorney-General; for in 1572 the course was to appoint an Attorney for the City in each Court of Common Law, and a Clerk in Court, and also a Solicitor for causes in Chancery. There is also a record of a power of attorney to appear for the City in the Star-chamber; they had also City Counsel, and likewise other barristers, as City Pleaders. It was not till the Court held 28 Oct. 23 Eliz. that Robert Smith was appointed as City Solicitor, with a fee of twenty marks per annum, and he is described as the first Solicitor. Prior to that, Robert Christopher, one of the clerks of the Mayor's Court, had been appointed to solicit City causes; and, after Christopher, John Mersh, under-sheriff, surrendering that place, held a like appointment for City causes."

of Sir Rowland Heyward. The *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* is now in its proper depository; and if the City archives also contain the volume Norton prepared, we may be sure that the information it comprised would have been highly useful to the commissioners not long since sitting at Guildhall.

It is not to be disputed that Norton was a bitter and persevering enemy to the Roman Catholics, or Papists, as he thinks fit to call them. The title of "busy-body" was given to him in derision on this account, and in the MS. under consideration he is most violent in his abuse of them, and in his injunctions to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to persecute and drive them out of the limits of the City: he calls upon the Corporation, most vehemently, to "suppress the boldness and growing of dangerous sects, and especially the heresy of Papistry, which hath [been] and is, not only the damnable destroyer of souls, but also the universal enemy and supplanter of all just crowns and kingdoms." He afterwards gives a sort of qualification of this strong language, which makes the matter even worse, for he says, "Although it may be true that some Papists are not traitors, because some men are seduced of simplicity or countenance, yet it is also true that there is no traitor to our Queen but he is a Papist, if he be of any religion at all." He dwells long and energetically upon this point, and afterwards, in a spirit of contrasted charity and benevolence, in reference to the Orphans' Fund, requires the Corporation to take the utmost care that it is applied to the fit purpose, and not wasted by city feasting and mercenary misappropriation. He also adverts, with strong censure, to the singular practice of stealing the children of citizens, and even of Aldermen, in order that they might partake of the benefit of this fund, remarking, in terms not now very intelligible, "it is good cheap if the price of stealing an Alderman's or citizen's child be but twelve pence in the pound" He also alludes to "the sale of the bodies of orphans for lewd practices, grievous to good citizens and slanderous to the world."

There is one passage, in the portion of this address which relates to the conservation of health and morality in London, which, when first I read it, particularly attracted my attention, and which, in connection with the history of our stage and popular amusements, is of no little interest. It is not known, upon any extant authority with which I am acquainted, that women were allowed to perform in our public theatres until after the Restoration of Charles II., who, from his French predilections, encouraged the practice, and did not fail to take advantage of it by selecting two or more of his mistresses from the boards of his own or of his brother's playhouse. These were the earliest actresses, properly so called, in this country; but from a remarkable portion of the MS. in my hands we

learn that, in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, female tumblers were permitted to exhibit (we cannot find a more appropriate word) on the open stage in London. They were, it is true, Italians, but the circumstance of country can make no difference as to the fact. The words of Norton upon this subject are these :—

"And one [matter] here out of place, that should before have been spoken of. The present time requireth you have good care, and use good means touching the contagion of sickness—that the sick be kept from the whole—that the places of persons infected be made plain to be known, and the more relieved—that sweetness and wholesomeness of public places be provided for—that unnecessary, and scarcely honest, resort to plays and shows, to the occasion of throng and press, except in the service of God—and especially the assemblies to the unchaste, shameless, and unnatural tumbling of the Italian women, may be avoided."

It is recorded by my friend Mr. Peter Cunningham in his "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court" (published by the Shakespeare Society in 1842), that in 1577 a company of Italian tumblers had performed before the Queen, but it is no where stated that these Italian tumblers, rewarded with court-favour and court-money, were females. Perhaps they were not so; but it is undeniable, on the evidence of Norton, that Italian women were to be publicly seen as tumblers at one of the playhouses in London, or in its suburbs, in the year 1574. This is a new, a characteristic, and an interesting fact, in reference to the state of theatres, and the state of morals, at that period in London and its neighbourhood. There were then only two, or at most three, buildings in existence, which had been erected for the express purpose of theatrical representations—the Theatre as it was distinctively called; the Curtain, also in Shoreditch, so named from the large cloth which separated the actors from the audience; and perhaps the Blackfriars playhouse, close to what is now the printing-office of "The Times" newspaper. These were all beyond the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and Corporation; but, although the city authorities would not permit any edifice to be raised and opened for public performances within the boundary of the walls, they could not prevent the application of inn-yards, surrounded by galleries, to the purpose; and, although the performers were often disturbed, such was the increasing popular passion for the drama, that the performances were frequent. It was most likely on a temporary stage, within London, that the Italian female tumblers performed, and excited the indignation of the City Remembrancer. It is singular that one of the authors of the first blank-verse tragedy in our language should speak of the "scarcely honest resort" of audiences to plays and theatres; and still more remarkable in the history of our early drama, that Bishop Still, the

writer of nearly our first comedy, full of broad humour and coarse drollery, should afterwards have become so decided an enemy to the stage, that he would not allow a public company to act in a place where he possessed the power to prevent them. We may suppose, that when Norton censures the "scarcely honest resort" to theatres, he might not refer to the acting of our regular drama, then in its infancy, but to the "unchaste, shameless, and unnatural tumbling of the Italian women," who may, as it were, have obtruded themselves on the stage, to the exclusion of those dramatic performances, which led the way to the production of plays, such as they became in the hands of Shakespeare, his predecessors, and his contemporaries.

Returning to Norton, and to his book, as he himself calls it, for the guidance and government of the then Lord Mayor Hawes, and his successors, he informs us that he had drawn it out of the wholesome precedents established, perhaps, by the corporate officers, from the period to which the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* belongs. He suggests to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen that they should from time to time note in the margin such beneficial changes as occurred: they were also to keep a sort of daily register, which from month to month they were to peruse, "in order that they may consider what things be left undone in the former months, and remain to be expedited in time following." He adds—

"You must not look to find a large description how and in what form everything is to be done that is here mentioned; so should the book have been too large for your use, and yet impossible to have the whole therein fully contained."

Hence we see clearly what must have been the scope and character of Norton's work, and we may be sure that it included many matters, both of fact and of advice, a knowledge of which would have been of the greatest service during the progress of the late inquiry.

The conclusion of this Exhortation is, like the beginning, of a religious character, and Norton calls upon the Lord Mayor and his brethren to recollect that, as God is the giver of all good things, they owe their prosperity to him. Norton, therefore, requires them to begin all business with prayer; and he states a fact, not, I believe, ascertained from the History or Journals of Parliament, that the daily custom for the two Houses to commence their proceedings with prayers was then a recently established practice, and a comparative novelty: his words are, "I could gladly wish that some form of prayer might daily be used in your court and council chamber, by you and all your brethren, before you enter into causes. It is so used in the Parliament; and, though *such use be but of late*, I trust it shall be continued, and grow to be old: and, surely I speak it of good heart to yourself, I heartily wish to you the honour and blessing to have it begun in your time."

On the evidence of Norton himself, we are able to correct an inaccuracy, into which his biographers have fallen, when they tell us that he was born in the parish of Streatley, in Bedfordshire. He was a native of London, and, moreover, at the time he wrote the MS. in our hands, he was one of the representatives of the City in Parliament. It has been supposed that it was his father who sat for London in 13 and 14 Elizabeth (1571-2), but it was certainly the son, who continued in the exercise of this high and important trust, while he also filled the office of City Remembrancer. These are new and not unimportant facts in the life of a man who, independently of any other claims to our notice, was the author of the three first acts of the first tragedy in blank verse ever performed in this kingdom. In the last paragraph of his Exhortation, Norton tells the Lord Mayor where he was born, where he was brought up, and the right London possessed to his gratitude.

"I am," he says, "born a citizen, and here brought up: according to my right, I have accepted my freedom, and bound myself to this city by the oath of a freeman. I have served, and do remain at this present in trust and in charge to serve the City in Parliament; I have placed my dwelling here, and do take my part of the City's good provision; I am the City's officer, and called to their councils; I have the City's fee, and owe my attendance. Thus many things, beside the love of my country, and the special request made for this matter, and some particular good will, which, I think, you make account I do bear you, have moved me, not only to draw this book, but also to add these devices. I pray you to take them in good part, and therewith my readiness to do the City and you, in your place, the best service I can; and I shall count my labours best accepted, when I shall see and be a witness of your good endeavours accordingly."

The preceding is the substance of fifteen closely written quarto pages. It is a very material document as regards the City of London, its privileges, its duties, and its government, and there can be no doubt that the original of my copy ought to be found in the library or archives of the city. Perhaps, on a strict search, it may be discovered, as well indeed as the volume to which it must have been prefixed. We have belonging to our Society, besides yourself, several high and influential members of the Corporation of London, and, now their attention is drawn to the subject of Norton's labours, nearly three centuries ago, it may be hoped that a fresh investigation will bring to light, if not the work he produced, some other valuable muniment connected with the city and its ancient officers.

I remain, my dear Sir, &c.

Riverside, Maidenhead, 17 March, 1855. J. PAYNE COLLIER.

XIII. *Further Particulars of Thomas Norton, and of State Proceedings in Matters of Religion, in the Years* 1581 *and* 1582. *By* William Durrant Cooper, *Esq., F.S.A., in a Letter addressed to* J. Payne Collier, *Esq., V.P.*

Read March 29, 1855.

81, Guildford Street, Russell Square, March 27th, 1855.

Your recent communication to the Society has drawn their attention to some facts relating to Thomas Norton, which were not known to me when I wrote the Memoir for the Shakespeare Society; and, as it is clearly proved, both by your communication and by documents in the State Paper Office, that the author of the first three acts of our earliest tragedy in blank verse was also the citizen grocer and the active and zealous Member for the City of London in 1571, and again from 1572 to 1582, who was declared to be "a man wise, bold, and eloquent," and to have addressed the Members "in his accustomed manner of natural eloquence,"[a] it may not be uninteresting to notice some of the State transactions in which Norton was engaged in the years 1581 and 1582, when the renewed movement was made against the Catholics by the Parliament and the Government.

I have not been able to clear up the doubt as to the time when Norton went to College, or took his degree. He may have gone to college as a pensioner or exhibitioner from the Grocers' Company, of which the Nortons were influential members[b]: for at that time the Company sent pensioners to Oxford; and among them was Campion, who, after his junction with the Jesuits and his return to England, was required by the Company, as one of their former scholars or pen-

[a] D'Ewes' Journal, pp. 157-162.

[b] Mr. Joseph Gwilt, F.S.A., having searched the records of the Grocers' Company, has kindly furnished me with these extracts relating to the Nortons :—

1553. Thomas Nortone, apprentice with Robert Wilkyns, rec^{d} and sworne the xvj daie of Aprill.

1557. Thomas Norton, apprentice with Dame Johan Laxton, widow [of the benefactor to the Company, founder of the school at Oundle], received and sworne the same daie (9 Oct.).

1565. Thomas Norton, late apprentice with Dame Johan Laxton, receaved and sworne the sayde xjth daye of December.

And a will of Thomas Norton, citizen and grocer, dated 2nd July, 1577, was proved at Doctors Commons in that year.

sioners, to justify his proceedings in defence of the Pope's Bull.[a] Norton most probably went to college, as was then the custom, at an early age, and had left when in 1550, at the age of eighteen, he published his first work. He was in London 13th Nov. 1552, for he dated thence a letter to Calvin, published by the Parker Society,[b] giving a very interesting account of his late Master the Duke of Somerset: he was described as of London in 1555 when he entered the Inner Temple: in the books of the Grocers' Company in 1558 Thomas Nortone, their freeman, is mentioned as of Bucklersbury; and, as he was appointed counsel to the Stationers in December, 1562, and regularly took his salary from that time until his death in 1584, I agree with you in thinking that the Thomas Norton who in 1565 entered himself at Pembroke Hall, and in 1569 took his degree, was a different person.[c]

From the records of the City of London, in the Town Clerk's office, it appears that the office of Remembrancer was instituted in 1570-1, and that on 6th February, in that year, Thomas Norton, Gent., was admitted to the office, which he held till his death. At the original institution the duty of Remembrancer was to engross and make calendars to the books, but not in any way to prejudice the Town Clerk's office, and soon afterwards he was ordered to examine all leases to be sealed. Norton's first salary seems to have been 10*l.* per annum, and it was subsequently ordered that he should have a yearly consideration for his pains, beyond his salary, and also a dwelling-house; and afterwards 10*l.* a year were allowed him beyond his salary, for engrossing letters sent from the Court.[d]

Norton is thought by Herbert to have been "the State Amanuensis;" and after the promulgation of the Pope's Bull, he was often consulted upon, and settled the papers used in the proceedings taken against the professors of the old faith. Among other matters he settled for Sir Francis Walsingham the interrogatories to be administered in January, 1581 (just before the re-assembling of Parliament, after six years of prorogations), to Lord Henry Howard (brother of the late Duke of Norfolk), created by James I. Earl of Northampton, touching the book published in defence of his brother: the Bull of Pius V.: and the departure of Gregory Martin from England. The interrogatories were inclosed in the following letter:—

[a] Heath's History of the Grocers' Company (privately printed).

[b] Letters relating to the Reformation, p. 339.

[c] The Shakespeare Society Papers, vol. iv. p. 126.

[d] On Norton's death it was resolved not to admit another Remembrancer, and Mr. Fletcher was admitted by the name of Secretary to the Lord Mayor, to write and engross all letters sent to any person: nevertheless he was afterwards called Remembrancer, and a deputy was also named.

T. Norton to Sir F. Walsingham.[a]

"It may please y^r h^r,—I have sent you the Interrogatories. I humbly thank you for the other contents of y^r letter, and for the answer therof I will conferre w^th those whome you have apointed.

"Touching S^r G. Peckham[b] I wrote unto you twise since, first touching his petition to speake w^th Mr. Recorder,[c] and yesterday touching three other petitions of his, namely, to have leave to use Mr. Cressey in his businesse, and to write to those that owe him money and to whome he is indetted. Lastly, to have leave to walk an houre or ij in a day upon the leades over his chamber, for his health, the rather bicause he had lately had certaine fittes of an ague. It may please you to have consideracõn herof, as y^r honorable wisdome shal think good. And so I leave to troble y^r h^r. At London, this x^th of Januarie, 1580.

"Y^r H^rs humble Th. Norton.

(Indorsed)

"To the Right Honorable Sir Fr. Walsingham, Knight,
Principall Secretarie to the Q. most excellent Ma^tie.

"10 Jan. 1580.

"From Mr. Thomas Norton.

"T^s the ar^les ministred to the L. Henry Howard."

Interrogatories inclosed in the letter.

"1. Have you not seen a treatise, published in English, touching the doinges and trobles of the late Duke y^r brother, beginning in these wordes: 'Good men and evell,' etc.; and whether you have noted the same treatise to beare two letters, R. G., as for the author's name, in the title?

"2. Have you seen any boke written for answer against the sayd treatise, in defense of the innocencie of the Scottish Q. and of y^r sayd brother; and how many sortes of such bokes have you seen, either in English, French, or other language, and how do they beginne, or what title beare they?

"3. Were the same bokes of answer or any of them written originally in French, or in English and translated into French?

"4. Whoe was the author of everie of the sayd bokes, and whoe the translater, and were not y^rself the author of them, and whoe gave you any advise or instruction, and whoe have you made privie therof?

[a] State Paper Office, Domestic, Eliz., 1581, No. 3.

[b] Probably Sir Geo. Peckham, of Denham, Bucks, whose estates were seized into the Queen's hands, for debts due to her. His grandfather, Sir Edmund Peckham, had been Treasurer of the Mint to Henry VIII

[c] Fleetwood was Norton's brother-in-law, and was elected Recorder in 13th Elizabeth, after Wilbraham.

"5. If you were not the author, what conference had you with the author therof, or w^th^ any other, touching them, before or after the wryting of them, and what instructions gave you or any other, to y^r^ knowledge, for the wryting therof?

"6. Have you not used at coñon tables,[a] and other publike places and assemblies, to make chalenges and to mainteine disputac̃ons, in defense of certaine articles of papistrie, against the doctrine published by Her Ma^tes^ autorite, and where and with whome have you so done?

"7. Have you seen the Bull of Pius V. for excoñunicating the Q. and for deposing her, and assoyling her subjectes from th^r^ allegeance; or if you have not seen it, have you so heard of it that you believe that there is such a bull?

"8. Have you knowen or heard that in the same Bull is conteyned to this effect, that such as from thenseforth continue to yeld obedience to the Q. shold stand likewise accursed?

"9. Have you knowen or heard that the same bull is revoked or adnulled, or remaineth in force, or is in any point qualified or dispensed for a time or for ever, either touching her self or her subjectes, and specially to dispense w^th^ the subjects that they may obey the Q. w^thout accursing?

"10. Do you know Gregorie Martine; where is he now, as you have knowen or heard? For what cause did he dept the realme, and what conference had you w^th^ him before his depture? And what warrant had he from you or any other to treate, move, or conclude any thing there for you or any other?

"11. What do you take to be the cause that the sayd Martine hath wished you to be where he is, and to say that if he were in y^r^ case he wold be there? And what letters or messages have passed between you and him?"

Parliament re-assembled a few days afterwards; and on 20th January Sir Walter Mildmay (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) made a motion for securing the kingdom against the Pope, which Norton seconded, and recommended the appointment of a Committee, consisting of all the Members of the Privy Council in the House, and other fit persons "to consult on Bills convenient to be framed for the purpose." The advice was adopted: Norton served on the Committee; and the next document (to which my attention was kindly directed by Mr. John Bruce) is valuable for the precise statement of what took place in the Committee and in the House, on the bills proposed; for the particulars it gives of the opinions of some of the Bishops; and as showing the spirit in which the Act "against seditious words uttered against the Queen's most Excellent Majesty," had been supported in the Commons by Norton and others, who had served on the Committee. The Act

[a] "Dalton at Arundel's."

received the royal assent on the day on which Parliament was prorogued, Saturday, 18th March, 1580-1 [a]; the conversation referred to took place therefore on the 20th March, when Norton seems to have been hurried away by the warmth of his feelings, and to have been reported against as having assailed the Bishops.

The document is entitled

"Mr. Norton's Defence.[b]

"As I verely think, upon Monday, by reason of the titles of the statutes then had in print and red among us, w^ch^ could not be before Monday, I went w^th^ my wife to the house of my good neighbo^r^, Mr. William Grice,[c] after supper, as in familiaritie we mutually use to do; where I found Mr. Grice himself, Mr. Calthrop,[d] and Mr. Thomas Onely,[e] all plament men, and young Henrie Grice, Mr. William Grice's sone, and one Hampton, of Trinitie College in Cambridge, tutor to the said Henrie Grice. There being together iiij^or^ plament men, we fell to talk of those matters, and specially how honorably and graciously the Quenes Ma^tie^ had dealt with us; whereupon one of them (I think Mr. Calthorp) said merely to me, 'You were one of them that were excluded out of the Quenes thankes.'[f] 'Nay (sayd I), that I was not, for there was not in that house, nor is in England, a poore man more hartely affected, nor more obsequious to Her Ma^ties^ service, nor more ferefull to offend her, than I, and thereof I reporte me to her counsell.' He replied, 'It is true, but you put the addition to the bill of selanders.'[g] 'I wrote it (sayd I), but the House put it to, and thereof I repent me not, for as it is Her Ma^ties^ greatest honor to have restored true religion, so ther can not be a more dishonorable selander to Her than to say that the religion Her Ma^tie^ mainteineth is false, or that the Romish religion, being contrarie thereunto, is true; yet, as hap was (sayd I), it was not that addition whereby the Bill was overthrown,[h] but the omission of amendments touching astronomie.' Then sayd one of the companie to me, 'You have taken great pains this plament, and ther be few of the actes which either you have not drawne, or travailed about penning them at comittes.' 'It is true (said I), but ther is none of them that I did draw and offer of my owne first devise, but all that I have done I did by comaundem^t^ of

[a] Lords Journals, vol. ii. p. 54.

[b] State Paper Office, Domestic, Eliz. 1581, No. 53 a.

[c] Member for Yarmouth.

[d] Charles Calthorpe, M.P. for Eye; he was an active member of the House.

[e] M.P. for Brackley, co. Northampton.

[f] See her speech on the prorogation of Parliament; "Not yet comprehending within those general thanks such some numbers of the Lower House as have this session dealt more rashly in some things than was fit for them to do." Com. Journ., vol. i. p. 137.

[g] 1st February.

[h] 13th March.

the House, and specially of the Quenes Counsell there, and my chefest care was in all thinges bothe to be directed by the Counsell, and to move them first to understand Hir Ma^tes^ pleasure in every great matter, to avoide offensive speche and proceding in the House; and for that cause (quod I) have I, besides these peines, written many a bill of articles that the House did not see. But (quod I) if you rede over the titles you shall see in how many I travailled in the service of the House, and therefore I ame sure I ame not out of the Quenes thankes nor favor.' Then they red the titles, and to every one I answered whether I had drawen or penned them, or no. At length they came to the Bill for the Bishop of Coventrie and Lichefeld,[a] to w^ch^ I said, 'This is a Bishop's Bill, I medeled not w^th^ it. Yet in truth I gave my yea to it in the House, and further cause I had not to medle with it, for it came redie passed from the Lordes, and was a private Bill, and no adverse ꝑtie to be heard against it.'

"After this we fell to talking of the great Bill of Religion, and among other thinges I said that 'for further reformation of many thinges amisse in the order of the Churche, the Coñions had the last Session opened their greves by petition to the Quene, specially touching the admission of unlearned and unfitt Ministers, the cõmutac̃on of penance into money, and the excesse of pluralities and non-residence, and that Her Ma^tie^ had most graciously comaunded the Bishops to take care for spedye remedie to be provided therein, w^ch^ (notwithstanding her comaundement) was not fully done; and that yet that litle was done, and set forthe in print by Her Ma^ties^ authoritie, the Bishops had so far left unexecuted, that I heard say some of them had forgotten that ꝑt thereof was ever so provided by them, till the printed boke was shewed them.' I said further that 'in this Session of plament the Coñions did in like humble maner make sute to Her Ma^tie^ for proceding w^th^ the said redresse, and for that cause did apoint certaine of her Privie Counsell, being of the Coñion house, to be suters to Her Ma^tie^ in the house's name, w^ch^ I did not doubt they had faithfully done, for so they reported in our house w^th^ open declaration how Her Ma^tie^ had most favorably heard the petition and taken it in most gracious ꝑt,[b] and comaunded certaine of the Bishops to confer with iiij^or^ of our house, namely, Mr. Tresorer, her two Secretaries, and Mr. Chancellor of the Escheq^r^, and yet the effect hath not proceded; in so much as Mr. Chancellor, for himself and the rest of our house,

[a] On the 8th March, 1580-1, a bill for assurance of a rent charge of 82*l.* 10*s.* to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, was read and committed to a committee, of which Norton was not a member. The Bill was read a third time, and passed the Commons on 13th March. By the Lords Journals it appears to have been only a Bill to confirm a private arrangement between the Bishop and Thomas Fisher, Esq.

[b] Commons Journals, vol. i p. 131.

shewed that they o[r] Coñittees had not failed in diligence; whereupon the whole house, houlding them assured of the Coñittees faithfulnesse, and acknowledging Her Ma[tes] graciousnesse, did impute the default to the Bishops,[a] and thereupon they requiered the Speker to renewe the petition in his last oration to Her Ma[tie], w[ch] he faithfully did,[b] and Her Ma[tie] by the Lord Chanceller, most graciously answered;' whereupon I inferred that ther was no default in Her Ma[tie], but such default as had ben was among the Bishops, and then I said that 'one in the House had recited this sentence of Tullie—*Si esset in iis fides in quibus suma esse debebat, non laboraremus.*'

"Hereupon Hampton replied, that the default was not in the Bishops, but 'I warrant you (quod he) they made no delaye, nor did anything, but by the Quenes direction, and as the Quene appointed.' Herew[th] I grew offended, sayeing that 'the Quene was most honorable, and did not use to dissemble w[th] her subjectes, to make to them openly a shew of graunting hir people's petition, and under hand to over throw it by contrarie comaundement to Bishops.' Hampton persisted in laying the default to the Quene, and I in defending Her Ma[ties] honor for true dealing with God and her subjectes, and he against me. In the heate of this argument, I, taking impatiently the Quene to be so dishonorably and unthankfully noted, might padventure speke of the Bishops that w[ch] otherwise I wold not, but I ame pswaded that I did not excede the course hereafter declared, viz.—to shew that the default was more likely to be in the Bishops than in the Quene. I recited that even in the conference of the Bill of Religion, six Bishops being Coñittees,[c] and bothe the temporall Lordes

[a] The Queen's answer to the address was presented by Sir Walter Mildmay, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who took the same tone as Norton. The answer was—

"That her Highness had, the last Session of Parliament, of her own good consideration, and before any petition or suit thereof made by this House, committed the charge and consideration thereof unto some of her Highness' clergy, who had not performed the same according to her Highness' commandment; so now her Majesty would eftsoons commit the same unto such others of them, as with all convenient speed, without remissness and slackness, should see the same accomplished accordingly, in such sort as the same shall neither be delayed or undone."

And the Chancellor, in moving the House to rest satisfied, as they did, with the answer, further declared "that the only cause why no due reformation had been already had in the said petition, was only by the negligence and slackness of some others, and not of her Majesty, nor of this House; alleging withal that some of the said bishops had yet done something in those matters, delivered by her Majesty to their charge, as in a more advised care of allowing and making of ministers, but yet, in effect, little or nothing to the purpose."

[b] 18th March.

[c] This conference took place 22nd February, on which day ten bishops were present in the Lords, but the names of the six on the conference are not distinguished in the Lords Journals.

and Coñions of that Coñittee dealing zealously in religion, the Bishops spake most or onely for jurisdiction, in so much that one great Bishop said that 'rather than he wold yeld that private scholemasters shold acknowlege their conformitie in religion before Justices of Peace in open sessions, he wold say nay to the whole Bill of Religion,' w^ch^ sayeing (sayd I) 'was not comparable to the most godly zeal of Her Ma^tie^, nor of the Lordes then present.' Hampton still psisted in transferring the default from the Bishops to the Quene and Her Counsell, in so much as I was enforced to shewe how the Bishops had filled the Church with unlearned and unfitt ministers, whom they had admitted into orders, and further that the nomber of papestes and the nomber of the 'Familie of Love' had increased under them by their remissnesse in executing their auethorities, being yet both Bishops, Justices of Peace, and Hye Commissioners, and so no lack in the Quene and her Counsell in geving them sufficient power, 'yea,' and I said that 'some Bishops them selves had ben heretikes,' and I named Mr. Gest late of Salisburie[a] and Mr. Cheyne late of Glocester[b], bothe holden for Pellagians, and infected with the heresie of the reall presence, and so Mr. Parker the late Archbishop of Canterburie told me, and that they were convented or intended to be convented to the convocation for it; and that Mr. Downham late of Chester[c] was suspected of papistrie. Concerning these thre Bishops, Hampton replied nothing, and could not denye. To the rest, viz. for admitting unfitt ministers, and the favoring and sparing of Papistes, he said that 'the fault was not in the Bishops, but in the Quenes Counsell, whoe did so usually write their letters in favor of such naughtie psons, that the Bishops neither could nor durst do justice against them.' Here I could not forbeare him, but told him that he was a foole, w^ch^, and more to like effect, I spake of him, and not of the Bishops, saving that I said that, 'whosoever so told him, the more beastes and fooles.' And I said, 'if it were so, is it a vertue of a good Bishop not to dare do justice for letters? And yet (said I) you sclander the Counsell, for you can not shew that ever any of the Counsell wrote for any such naughty man, knowing him so to be; but, if they did (quod I), they wrote not for them all. What have the Bishops done to the rest? But (sayd I) I am, in my service in London, acquainted with the Counsell's honourable doinges in such

[a] Edmund Gheast or Guest, Fell. of King's Coll. Camb. promoted to the Archd. of Canterbury, Oct. 1559; consecrated Bishop of Rochester, 24 Mar. following: translated to Sarum, Dec. 1571; ob. 28 Feb. 1577.

[b] Richard Cheiney, of Pembroke Hall, Camb., deprived by Mary of his Archdeaconry of Hereford for opposing, in convocation, transubstantiation; elected Bishop of Gloucester 9th March, 1561; ob. 25th April, 1579.

[c] William Downham, of Magdalen Coll. Oxon., consecrated 4th May, 1561; ob. Nov. 1577.

cases, for if some tyme, upon information, or at their frendes request, they write to us at London for any thing that, either by orders of o^r^ Citie or by the offense of the ptie, is not meete to be graunted, if we write them a comely, true, and reasonable answere of the cause of our refusall, they be satisfied, and take o^r^ doinges in noble good pt.' And, for example thereof, I recited that, when one Eden, an atturney, was lately put out of his office in London for mater of Papistrie, and for having a massing prest and massing baggage in his house, and for keping a massing prest certaine monethes in his house, and sending over his sone with that prest to the seminaries and popish places beyond sea, and ther bringing him up under a most famous popish tutor, and for other like thinges; and where the boord of the most honorable Counsell had, by their tres to the Lord Mayo^r^ and Aldermen, allowed of this proceeding against Eden, as a note of the Cities fidilitie to God and the Quene; yet afterward Eden, upon testimoniall of his conformitie from the Bishop of London, whoe never examined but half the matter, and upon suggestion to two noble Lordes of the Counsell (whoe were not privie to the said former tres) that the proceding of the Lord Maio^r^ and Aldermen against him was onely of malice, obteined tres from those noble Lordes for his restitution, and, upon like suggestion, other tres from other of the Counsell. Yet afterward, when the Counsell were informed of the truthe of the matter, bothe those two noble Lordes did revoke their said letter that they had written for Eden, sayeing, in a newe letter, in these wordes, that, if they had knowne the truthe, they wold not for their handes have written for Eden, and diverse of the rest of the Counsell wrote againe, to confirme the first tres. 'Therefore (said I), sclander not the Counsell with the Bishops' faltes.' And then I earnestly urged him to shew me one instant or example that ever any of the Counsell had written to any Bishop in favor of any Papist or other offender, and that the Bishop had geven a comely, true, and reasonable answere of refusall, and the Counsell did not take it in good pt, or was displeased with the Bishop for it; which he could not shew. Then we fell into mention of the bill against the 'Familie of Love,'[a] w^ch^ matter, I said, 'was comended to us of the Common House from the Convocacon, and diverse preachers so brought it, and the Speker did in the House so declare it, and, in

[a] A bill for the punishment of heretics, called "The Family of Love," was introduced into the Commons, read a second time, and referred to a committee; after which a new bill was introduced, which was read a second time on 27th February, 1580-1, and committed to Mr. Norton and others (Commons' Journ. vol. i. p. 130); but no later entry appears on the Journals. For a notice of these "Sectaries out of Holland," see Camden's Annals, book ii. p. 109.

favo^{r} of the Convocac̃on we gave furtherance unto it, that heresie being also most dangerous to the Quene's estate and the realme; and afterward diverse of the Bishops disavowed it, and denyed that they had coñended the mater unto us.' Hampton sayd that 'they had don well in so disavowing it.' 'That may be (quod I) if they said therein truly, and had not coñended it before, w^{ch} I am not bound to beleve, for our Speaker said the contrary, and (as I thinke) upon some ire or information from the Quene's Counsell, whome I beleve afore all the Bishops in England.' 'Nay (said Hampton), the cause was for that you of the Lower House had made heresie felonie, and so layed a temporall paine to a spirituall offense.' I replied that 'that could not be a cause for them to disavow their owne doing, or the doing of the rest of the Convocac̃on.' And I said further, that 'he misreported the P'lament House; that they had layd the peines of felonie upon heresie, for it was expressed in the bill that the said doctrine was not onely heresie, but also tending to sedition and disturbance of the estate; and yet (sayd I) you can shewe no cause why the P'lament may not decree that an heretike may as well be hanged as burned.' He replied, still urging the absurditie of the jugement of the P'lament House in condemning the Familie of Love for fellons. And thereupon I must confesse that I repeted that he was a foole, and to like effecte; but I did not (saving y^{or} honers) call him knave nor did then thinke him. Hampton sayd he wold complaine to the Bishops of me, and I bad him not to spare; and so he hath done, *contra Jovem hospitalem*, to my grefe, and to the grefe of the honest gentleman whome and whoes house he hath so abused; and, to ratifie his slaunders, he hath pcured an honest young man, his owne pupill, Mr. Grice's sone, to be sworne, whoe, I suppose, hath not sayd much for hym.

"Thus I have delivered the truthe, and so by the whole dependence of the mater I trust you may see it hath the course and plaine honest face of truthe. I submitt myself to yo^{r} honorable jugementes, and for my Lordes the Bishops, although in all honor and credit I sett them behinde Her Ma^{tie} and her most honorable Counsell, yet I referre me to the Lordes of the Counsell how reverently and honorably I have openly uttered my hart and speche touching them and their degree, and so I humbly beseche their Ll^{ps} to thinke of me. And what I have sayd, as is afore, hath not ben to any intent of their defacement, but in comparison, and being by my adversarie opposed to Her Ma^{tie} and her Counsell. For the state of religion and the Churche no man can charge me that ever I sought inovation, but ever endevored me to hold that condition of policie and doctrine that we most comfortably enjoye under Her Ma^{tie}. If anything be conteyned in Hampton's accusation not before declared, but by me not called to memorie, I am redie therein to

confesse the truthe and what place it ought to have in the order of this my declaration."

(Indorsed)

Mr. Norton's defence against Hampton's false report.

In May, 1581, Norton was one of the Commissioners who took the examination of Alexander Briant, and on the 1st August in the same year he took the examination of Edmund Campion.[a] The next letter shows that he was present when both were put on the rack, and that, like Lord Burghley,[b] he was called upon to defend himself for the mode in which the rack had been used. The complaints against him had been so strong, that Norton, in the early part of the year 1582, was under an injunction to confine himself to his house at the Guildhall, from whence he dated the following justification, which illustrates very curiously the use of the rack and the specious arguments by which it was justified:—

T. Norton to Sir F. Walsingham.[c]

27 March, 1581.

"My dutie humbly done to y^r^ hono^r^ w^th^ thankes for y^r^ many goodnesses, and prayer for continuance. I have received the late seditious boke, Her Ma^ties^ Counsel for persecuters,[d] &c.

"I finde in the whole boke only one place touching myself, fo. ult. pa. i.—

"'One (meaning Briant) whome Mr. Norton the Rackmaister (if he be not misreported) vaunted in the Court to have pulled one good foote longer than ever God made him, and yet in middes of all he semed to care nothing, and therefore out of dout (sayd he) he had a devel within him,' &c.

"Surely I never sayd in that forme, but this, when speache was of the courage of Campion and some other, I sayd truely that there appered more corage of a man's hart in one Briant than in x. Campions, and therefore I lamented that the devel had possessed poore unlerned Briant in so noughtie a cause. For being thretened by those that had coñiission that (to the intent he might be moved to tell truthe without torment), if he wold not for his dutie to God and the Quene tell truthe, he shold be made a foote longer than God made him, he was

[a] Copies of the warrants for these examinations and for the application of torture are given by Mr. Jardine in the Appendix to his "Reading on the Use of Torture in the Criminal Law of England," pp. 85-78.

[b] See Lord Somers's Tracts, vol. i. p. 209: Norton's statement evidently forms the groundwork of Burghley's apology.

[c] State Paper Office, Domestic, Eliz. 1581, No. 53. By the context and the place from which the letter is written, the date ought to have been 1582. Norton seems to have forgotten the new year.

[d] In the margin is written: "The Print is done in England. It is no translation, but original English."

therewth nothing moved. And being, for his apparent obstinacie in maters that he well knew, racked more than any of the rest, yet he stood still wth expresse refusal that he wold not tell truthe. Where he setteth out a miracle that Briant was preserved from feling of peine, it is most untrue, for no man of them all after his torture made so grevous complaining, and showed so open signes of peine as he.

"For the racking, let me put y^{r} hon^{r} in minde of certaine pointes.

"1. For my pt I was not the Rackmaister, but the meanest of all that were in coñiission, and as it were clerk unto them, and the doing was by the hands only of the Quenes servants, and by Mr. Lieutenant's only direction for much or litle.

"2. None was put to the rack but by the warrant of vj of the most honorable Counsel at the least.

"3. None was put to the rack that was not first by manifest mater knowen to the Counsel to be gylty of treason, so that it was well assured aforehand that there was no innocent tormented. Also none was tormented to know whether he were gylty or no, but for the Quenes safetie to disclose the maner of the treason, and the complices.

"4. No man was tormented for mater of religion, nor asked what he believed of any point of religion, but only to understand of particular practises for setting up their religion by treason or force against the Quene.

"5. If any of them did say that they wold truely answer to such thinges as they were demanded on the Quenes behalf, and wold by othe or without othe seriously and upon his allegeance say that he did know or believe^{s} his answeres to be true, he was never racked. Neither was any of them racked that had not bothe obstinately sayd, and did psist in that obstinacie, that he wold not tell truthe though the Quene coñanded him.

"You see by these bokes and such other, how dangerously Parsons and the rest still walk abrode. These maters require answer for satisfaction. By litle and litle a multitude of subjectes growe infected. When they finde their number encreased to strength, Her Ma^{tie} may finde it dangerous. A late example hath shewed what such consciences dare attempt.

"You know that Parsons, Elye, and other stand endited of hye treason.

"If my L. Chefe Justice or Mr. Attorney, the Quenes excellent good servant, be asked how farr forward the processe of outlawrie hath proceded for the Q. against them upon those enditements, you shal see that they be nere outlawed. If then (w^{ch} may stand wth law) they be proclaimed traitors, wth a clause that such proclamacon is made to the intent the Q^{s} subjectes shold know their owne danger in receyving or conceling them, knowing them to be traitors, as by the proclamacon they are done to know, this will help to bring them fourth. For such as receive

them will think that the traitors may one day be taken and examined who receyved them, and, so fynding themselves in peril of treason, they will rather disclose them. Now for myne owne case, it is heavy to myself, and greatly in this one thing, that my name and cause is used to the sclander of Her Ma^ties^ honorable justice against traitors. I am not to deale in such cases uncomanded; but if, for Her Ma^ties^ service and for the fame of religion, I be enjoyned to set downe answer and to deliver it to my L. Tresurer to use as pleaseth him, I think I could so satisfie the multitude in so good a cause as shold be to some good use against such seditious persuaders.

"For the rest of my estate, alas, S^r^, *curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent;* I am now undone, I can not speake it; I meane in respect of my poore innocent wife, I feare never or hardly, if not spedily, to be recovered, whereof my Ladie Hopton can tell you, and good Mr. Reynoldes, whome, w^th^ Mr. Fox, I have lately used about her. God be mercifull to me! I feare it will be late for her, and so for me and my litle ones.

"All that ever I durst do in the mater of Campion, and which hath lyen a good while by me, I do here send you. Let it not beare my name, I pray you. If you please to communicate it to good Mr. Chanceller,[a] it may rubbe up some of his olde charitable thinkinges of me. I can beare that you also shew it Mr. Vicechamberlaine, that noble natured true gentleman,[b] whoe knoweth that I know I am bound to him.

"My good L. Tresorer[c] is the only man in whome I have and do lay the course of my relefe. I have found him gracious; he will do me good in time. But if, upon understanding of this extremitie of my wife's estate, by my Lady Hopton and Mr. Reynoldes, it will please you to use mediation to my Lord for me, I hold me assured that Mr. Vicechamberlaine and Mr. Chanceller will joyne with you in pitie. An arrogant foole upon presumptuous zele is the worst of me; a perpetual true man to the Q. is the best; and that I believe Her Ma^tie^ herself doth not dout is the stay of my feble hart. God long preserve her, that ye all may long serve her!

"From my home preson in the Guildhall, this 27 of March, 1581.

"Yo^r^ honor's verie poore THOS. NORTON.

(Indorsed)

"To the Right Honourable S^r^ Fr. Walsingham, Knight, Principal Secretarie to the Q. most excellent Ma^te^."

Norton was released from his confinement in a few days after; but the next letter, whilst he was still kept to his house, gives another specimen of the controversial spirit which he delighted to exhibit.

[a] Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer. [b] Sir Christopher Hatton. [c] Lord Burghley.

T. Norton to Sir F. Walsingham.[a]

11 April, 1582.

"It may please y^r honor, I have here sent you an other of these toyes, in hope the last did not displease you; and yet I am somewhat afrayd therof, bicause I heare not of y^r allowance. S^r, I imagine that y^r silence doth, as it were, beeken to me to be silent; and so I wold gladly, if either you so comanded me, or if I could devise a fitter way to say, in not sayeing. For God's sake remember me, I feare this monethly returne of distemper for my poore wife, toward the change. Alas, a few more will make an habit hopelesse of recoverie; and what shal then become of me and myne, that are allredy wretched, without more encreasem^t? But this, bothe in mater and tyme, must be left to God, Her Ma^te, my L. Tresorer, &c.; and I to woe and prayer! This trifle, and one other of the like lying by me, are the frutes of a meane space between fittes of sorrow and amasednesse of grefe, *Det, and dedly sin!* If I could have been as sorrowfull for offending God as I have ben for displeasing Her Ma^tie, he wold have preserved me from offending her.[b]

"I pray you (if you like it) impt this toy to my good Mr. Vicechamberlaine and Mr. Chanceller. You nede not deliver my name therein, for, though it be a true begotten and a true man's childe, yet it darc not avow the father, but in place of pitie.

"The Quene shal, with no restraint of her natural mercie, make me to cesse to love her, or not to hate her enemies—*sincero odio*.

"I daily thank God of all y^r most honorable governances that be of Her Ma^tes Counsel. I verily hope of good frute of this late proclamation, if the endevors of inferio^r officers and subjects do answer y^r noble provisions. O blessed people, under such a soveraine so ruling, so counselled, and so served!

"S^r, may I dare to pray y^r honor to remember that w^ch I beleive you forget not? I will dare, bicause the advise came from a learned grave Christian judge of Her Ma^ties Benche. Byside the proclamation, let the proeesse of outlawrie against those that be endited goe on effectually for the Quene. You nede but so signifie to Mr. Attorney, neither I think you nede so, the man[c] is so zelous a true servant to God and Her Ma^tie. O how his valiance of a Christian true subjectes hart hath delited me!

"I think he will informe you that it were good that more of them that be detected, in a good number, be also endited, and outlawrie procede against them too; for otherwise it may hap to make a question in law, upon the arrainement of a fosterer of such traitors, whether the proclamation suffice. It wold, therefore, be strengthened w^th enditements and outlawries of the traitors, for ij causes: one,

[a] State Paper Office, Domestic, Eliz. 1582, No. 65.

[b] This expression is very like that put by Shakespeare into the mouth of Wolsey, Hen. VIII. act iii. sc. 2.

[c] Sir Thomas Egerton.

least proclamations wanting effect should lose estimation; the other to stop their mouthes that shal cavill that any extraordinarie proceding is used toward them, but only according to the usual due course of law and justice. And yet no true man can dout that all that is done by Her Ma^tie^ and ye all is honorably and justly done, but I meane to the more confusion of the adversaries.

"I will be silent when you signifie that my boldnesse displeaseth you. I have my old hart, with some more witt, I trust, so dere bought that it hath undone me.

"At my home preson, this xj^th^ of April, 1582.

"Yo^r^ hon^ors^ poore TH. NORTON.

"O how gladly I wold learne whether Mr. Vicechamberlaine and Mr. Chancellor reteine any charitable thinkings of me; so much I feare that all the world foloweth the prejudice of Her Ma^ties^ displeasure to him that wold as faine please her as any to whome she is most gracious; but *spiritus ubi vult spirat.*

"To the Right Honorable Sir Fr. Walsingham, Knight, Principal Secretarie to the Quenes most excellent Ma^tie^."

Norton fully recovered the confidence of the Council, and retained it till his death in 1584. Documents in the State Paper Office show that he was employed in 1583 with Thomas Wylkes in the examinations of Mr. and Mrs. George Throgmorton,[a] as to the escape of John Throgmorton; of John Halter, of Arundel, for bringing over papists to Sussex;[b] of William Warde, as to the escape of Paget to France;[c] of Hugh Hall, relating to Sir Thomas Cornwallis;[d] and of George Breton, as to a priest called Cotton;[e] whilst on 18th November, 1583, Wylkes was directed by Walsingham to bring Mr. Norton with him to the Tower "to-morrow morning," to be present at the racking of Francis Throgmorton,[f] who (it was declared on 20th December) had "been often racked, and confessed nothing." There are, besides, other communications from Norton to Walsingham, in reference to the disputes between some members of the Stationers' Company and the patentees privileged in printing, and to the opinion of the Russian merchants on the treaty with the Emperor, which were matters more immediately within his offices of Counsel to the Stationers' Company and of City Remembrancer, though, possibly, not quite so congenial to the strong religious feelings of Wood's "forward and busy Calvinist and noted zealot."

[a] Domestic (1583) 393. [b] Ibid. 405.

[c] Ibid. 406. For the answers of Lord H. Howard to Paget, given on 11th Dec. 1583, and January, 1583-4, see Cotton MSS. Caligula, C. VII. pp. 261, 269.

[d] Ibid. 486. [e] Ibid. (1584), 1.

[f] Ibid. (1583), 329. No warrants for these rackings of F. Throgmorton appear in Mr. Jardine's "Reading," nor does he notice the case.

XIV. *An Account of Excavations on the Site of Roman Buildings at Keston, near Bromley, Kent: in a Letter to Rear-Admiral* W. H. Smyth, *F.R.S., V.P. By* George R. Corner, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read November 30, 1854.

3, Paragon, New Kent Road,
27 November, 1854.

Dear Sir,

In the twenty-second volume of Archæologia, Mr. A. J. Kempe has given an account of some then recent discoveries, by himself and Mr. Thomas Crofton Croker, near the ancient entrenchment called Cæsar's Camp, at Holwood Hill, Keston, near Bromley, Kent. Those discoveries consisted of the foundation of a circular Roman building, supposed to be a temple or tomb, with a square tomb, and two graves, in one of which was a stone coffin, and from the other a stone coffin had been several years previously removed to Wickham Court.

The foundations described by Mr. Kempe are situate in a field on Keston Court Farm, the property of the Rev. Sir Charles Francis Farnaby, Bart., of Wickham Court, which field bears the significant name of the Lower War Bank, being situate on a bold declivity, the upper part of which is called the Upper War Bank—a name which Mr. Kempe observes seems to denote "some scathe or havoc done within its limits." He remarks that two or three fields about the spot are full of the vestigia of human residence—tiles, scored bricks, pottery, the bones of men and animals: and he goes on to say, "it may be no violent stretch of fancy to suppose that the town here, abandoned by the Romans, was destroyed in the wars between the Saxons and Britons; and that in the name War Bank,[a] or the Hill of Battle, we have the brief record of a sanguinary conflict." Mr. Kempe tells us, "it has constantly been the current tradition of the neighbourhood, that about this spot was a large town," and he says "I have always indeed suspected that this beautiful little valley south-west of Holwood Hill was the site of a Roman colony, and that the entrenchments on the northern side of that eminence might be the Castrum Æstivum, and retiring citadel, of the Roman forces stationed here. The cultivators of Keston Court Farm had uniformly asserted the existence of old

[a] More likely Weard or Ward Bank. Here was probably the weard setle (watch seat, settle, bench, or bank) mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon charter referred to at p. 125; and, as one of the significations of weard setle is a watch tower (Bosworth's A.-S. Dictionary), I should be inclined to suppose that the foundation of the circular building described by Mr. Kempe was that of a watch tower, but that its situation so far down the Bank does not seem to favour that conjecture.

foundations, scattered over the whole extent of War Bank Field and the two fields contiguous on either hand:" and Mr. Kempe discovered "masses of ruinous walls, and especially near the hedge, the foundation wall of a Roman building, two feet and a half in breadth, and thirty feet long, with two projecting walls about a foot asunder, on the north side (probably the walls of a flue), which ran under the hedge." But Mr. Kempe could not pursue this interesting part of his inquiry as far as he wished, the field being sowed for a crop of wheat as soon as ploughed.

Having obtained the permission of Sir Charles Francis Farnaby, and Mr. Abraham Smith, his tenant of Keston Court Farm, to make some further researches on this spot, I have this autumn, in company with Robert Lemon, Esq. F.S.A., John Richards, Esq. F.S.A., and other Fellows of our Society, been enabled to lay open some foundations of buildings in the Lower War Bank Field and the field adjoining, now known as the Eight Acres; and I have the honour to request you will lay before the Society of Antiquaries the result of our discoveries, which, without entering into the long-disputed question of the site of Noviomagus, at least prove that the remains of Roman buildings of considerable extent lie buried under the surface of two arable fields at Keston, the tracing of which, although only commenced, cannot, I think, but prove a work highly interesting to the Society.

We commenced our labours on Thursday, the 12th of October, and proceeded for three days of that week and four days of the week following, having, during the latter period, the kind and valuable assistance of John Yonge Akerman, Esq. F.S.A., Secretary of this Society.

We first opened the foundations denoted by Mr. Kempe on the plan accompanying his paper, near to the hedge which divides the Lower War Bank Field from the Eight Acres, and we found there the foundation of a wall composed of flints (the building material of the country) strongly set in mortar, but without tiles. This wall was about three feet thick and twenty-eight feet long, bearing north-east and south-west; and on the north-west side was a wall projecting from it at right angles, north-westward, and extending under the hedge into the adjoining field. This was evidently the foundation alluded to by Mr. Kempe.

Eighteen feet south-west from the end of this wall, we came upon another, at right angles to it, towards the south-east. This wall was of similar construction, but four feet thick, and twelve feet in length. Beyond this, towards the south-east, lay three detached portions of wall, one of which appeared to have slipped from its original position, and with the two other detached portions seemed to have formed a slight curve towards the east.

On the north side of this wall, and not far from the hedge, we discovered part of a pavement of flints laid on cement; the portion we laid open was about six or seven feet square: near it was a recess in the wall, which I could not but think looked as if intended for a gate. This wall also goes through the hedge into the Eight Acre Field. On the south-west side, at the end of the wall near to the hedge, we found a narrow opening or cavity in the wall, like a grave, but very small, being only three feet in length by one foot wide. South-eastward from this we came to a floor of concrete in the line of the first-mentioned wall, and occupying about six feet of it, beyond which the wall was traced about eighteen feet further south-westward, making the whole length of that wall, if it were continuous, about seventy-eight feet.

All these walls were within two feet from the surface of the ground, and communicated with other foundations in the Eight Acre Field adjoining; but about two years since, Mr. Smith, the farmer, grubbed up a narrow shaw which extended along the hedge, and took the opportunity of removing the foundations which were met with, out of the ground.

We however discovered in the Eight Acre Field, at a distance of about twelve feet from the hedge, the foundations of two parallel walls, extending at right angles to the principal wall in the War Bank Field; and, from the information we obtained through the labourers who had been employed by Mr. Smith to remove the foundations, I have been enabled to mark their position on the accompanying plan, by dotted lines, the foundations which we actually opened being shaded. I am inclined to think that these foundations formed part of an edifice of a public character, but further researches may afford better grounds than now are apparent for forming an opinion as to its use.

We were induced to leave for a time this portion of the field, in order to explore another part, where the farmer informed us his corn was thinner, and always turned yellow before other parts of the produce of the same field, and where the plough was most frequently obstructed by obdurate substances beneath the surface of the ground.

The point indicated by Mr. Smith was about a hundred feet south from the other foundations, and nearer to the middle of the Lower War Bank Field. Here we came, at about eighteen inches only below the surface, to the foundation of a wall running in a direction north-west and south-east, and which we opened for a length of forty-nine feet, together with a wall extending at a right angle from it at the north-west end, for a length of twelve feet six inches. These walls were two feet thick, and at the highest about four feet from the foundation. They were composed of flints and mortar, with a single course of Roman bonding-tiles,

laid along the whole length of the wall, upon a foundation of about six inches of flint-work, resting on the chalk; the superstructure above the tiles being composed of flint work, except that at the angle formed by the two walls, seven inches above the long course of tiles, there were two layers of tiles as a quoin.

The bonding-tiles were eleven inches wide, and had been sixteen inches long; but, as the thickness of the wall required more than one tile, and the length of two would have been too much, they were all broken at the side where they met in the centre of the wall.

We traced and laid open these walls and other foundations connected with them, until we developed what appears to be the almost complete foundation of a small Roman villa, being sixty feet six inches in length, by thirty-two feet eight inches in width; of which, as well as the foundations first mentioned, I submit a plan.

We were not fortunate enough to meet with anything like a tessellated pavement; but, as Mr. Kempe found in the temple or tomb, whatever flooring the buildings may have had seemed to have been completely destroyed; nor did we find any inscribed stone, nor even a potter's mark, nor any sculptured or carved stone of any kind: the only coin found was a small brass one of Valens; but Mr. Smith of Keston Court Farm has in his possession a few Roman coins which have been found on this spot: viz.

1. Clodius Albinus. Second-brass. Legend, SAECVLI FRVGIFERO COS II. Genius standing. A scarce type. (See Mr. Akerman's Descriptive Catalogue.)
2. Carausius. Third-brass. PAX AVG. Peace standing. (Two coins.)
3. Allectus. Third-brass. Galley type. Legend obliterated.
4. Claudius Gothicus. Third-brass. AEQVITAS AVG. Equity standing.
5. Victorinus? Much defaced.
6. Constantinus Magnus. Second-brass. SOLI INVICTO COMITI. In the exergue PLN.
7. Ditto. Third-brass. The labarum between two soldiers. Legend left out from want of metal.

The ground however was full of fragments of Roman tiles of all sorts, as ridge-tiles, flue-tiles, and drain-tiles, some of them ornamented with various patterns. Numerous fragments of pottery, chiefly of black or dark grey earth, and some, but not much, of Samian ware, and that unornamented; perhaps the most remarkable was part of a colander of Samian ware. Some of the coarser pottery was studded on the inside with small silicious particles, as mentioned by Mr. Kempe, and we found also many pieces of stucco covered with a red pigment similar to that described by him as having covered the exterior of the circular building.

Indications of the action of fire were frequently apparent, and pieces of charcoal and scoriæ of iron and copper were found.

We found also bones and horns of animals and tusks of hogs, but no bones that we could recognise as having belonged to the human species.

Of metal substances, we found nails, a knife, and a thin flat piece of iron in shape of a crescent or gorget.

It was getting too late in the season to prosecute these researches any further this year, but I venture to express a hope that after harvest in the ensuing year further excavations may be made in these fields, which will doubtless lead to the discovery of other remains of the ancient state of this place, which appears to have realised the denunciations of Jeremiah and Micah against Zion—that they should be ploughed as a field.

I am indebted to my friend F. W. Fairholt, Esq. F.S.A., for a very faithful sketch of the scene of these discoveries, including the temple or tomb described by Mr. Kempe and the Upper War Bank Field, and shewing the position of the present discoveries with respect to those of Mr. Croker and Mr. Kempe.

I must not omit to mention, that in a field at a short distance from Keston Court Farm, near Baston Court, an ancient manorial residence in Hayes, now the property of James Thomas Fry, Esq. Master of the Reports and Entries in Chancery, there exist, about four feet below the surface, the foundations of a building which we found by probing the ground, having had the spot pointed out to us by an old inhabitant of the place; but we were obliged to defer further research until some future period.

The name of this place, Keston, has a very significant reference to the sepulchral remains which have been found here.

This name is not, as Hasted supposes, derived from the Camp at Holwood Hill, quasi "Casterton," nor is it, as the same author observes, from Cæsar's or Kæsar's Town, according to the fancy of some ingenious etymologists; but I believe I have found the true derivation of the name in some Anglo-Saxon charters, the first of which is one of Æthelberht, King of Wessex, dated A.D. 862, whereby he gave and granted to Dryghtwald his minister ten carucates of land in a place called Bromleag, and the boundaries of the grant are thus described:

"Sunt etenim termini p̃dicti agelli circūjacentia. An norðan frā Ceddanleage to Langanleage,[b] Bromleaginga Mearc[c] 7 Liofshema.[d] ðanne fram Langanleage to

[a] Ceddanleage I take to be Kengley Bridge, at Southend, on the road from Lewisham to Bromley.

[b] Langanleage—Langley in Beckenham.

[c] Bromley Mark. [d] Lewisham.

ðam Wōnstocce.[e] ðanne fram ðam Wōnstocce, be Modingahema Mearce,[f] to Cinta Stiogole.[g] ðanne fram Cinta Stiogole, be Modingahema Mearce, to Earnes beame.[h] ðanne fram Earnes beame Cregsetna haga[i] an east halfe, sced hit to Liowsandene.[j] ðanne fram Liowsandene to Swelgende.[k] ðanne fram Swelgende, Cregsetna haga to Sioxslihtre.[l] ðanne fram Sioxslihtre to Fearnbiorginga Mearce.[m] Fearnbiorging[n] Mearce, hit sced to Cyštaninga Mearce,[n] Cystaninga Mearc, hit sced suðan to Weardsetle,[o] ðanne fram Weardsetle, Cyštaninga Mearc to Wichæma Mearce. ðanne sio West Mearc,[q] be Wichæma Mearce, ut to Bipplestyde.[r] ðanne fram Bipplestyde to Acustyde,[s] to Biohahema Mearse,[t] fram Acustyde to Ceddanleage . . . . . ðanne belimpoð ðer to ðam londe fif denn [u] au uhvalda Broccesham ðesdennes nama ðes oðres dennes nama' sænget hryg' billan ora is ðes ðriddan nama ðanne hoa denn in gleppan felda."

There are two other Anglo-Saxon charters, being grants of this land of Bromley, the one by Ædgar, King of the English and other people, in 966, to St. Andrew, and Ælfstan prior of the Church of Rochester; and the other by Ædeldred, in 987, to Aðelsige, his faithful minister; in both of which the boundaries are nearly similarly described as in the charter of Æthelberht which I have

[e] The Wonstock, a fixed post or stulp, possibly at Stumps Hill, between Southend and Beckenham. Mr. Kemble conjectures that this word may have some reference to Wodin.

[f] Mottingham Mark.

[g] Cinta Stiogole, or Kent Style, I take to be Kent Gate, on the boundary of the county between Wickham and Addington.

[h] Earnes beame signifies the Eagles Home or Tree, but Mr. Kemble supposes the Earnes beame to be a tree marked with the figure of an eagle, not a tree in which the eagle built.

[i] The hedge or boundary of the settlers on the Crecca or River Cray.

[j] Perhaps Leaves Green, Bromley Common.

[k] Swelgende. The Swallow or Gulph.

[l] Query, Six Slaughters or Murders.

[m] Farnborough Mark.

[n] Keston Mark, still known by that name.

[o] The Watch Seat or Station, being south from Keston Mark, was most probably the Weard, Ward, or Watch Bank, now called "The War Bank," the situation of which with respect to Keston Mark corresponds with the Charter.

[p] Wickham Mark.

[q] Perhaps Westmore Green.

[r] Bipplestyde is probably Beddlestead in Surrey, on the border of Kent.

[s] I do not know where this place can be; there is a farm called Lustead near Westmore Green.

[t] Biohahema might mean the Bee inclosure or Apiary.

[u] A denne was a certain allotment of woodland in the weald.

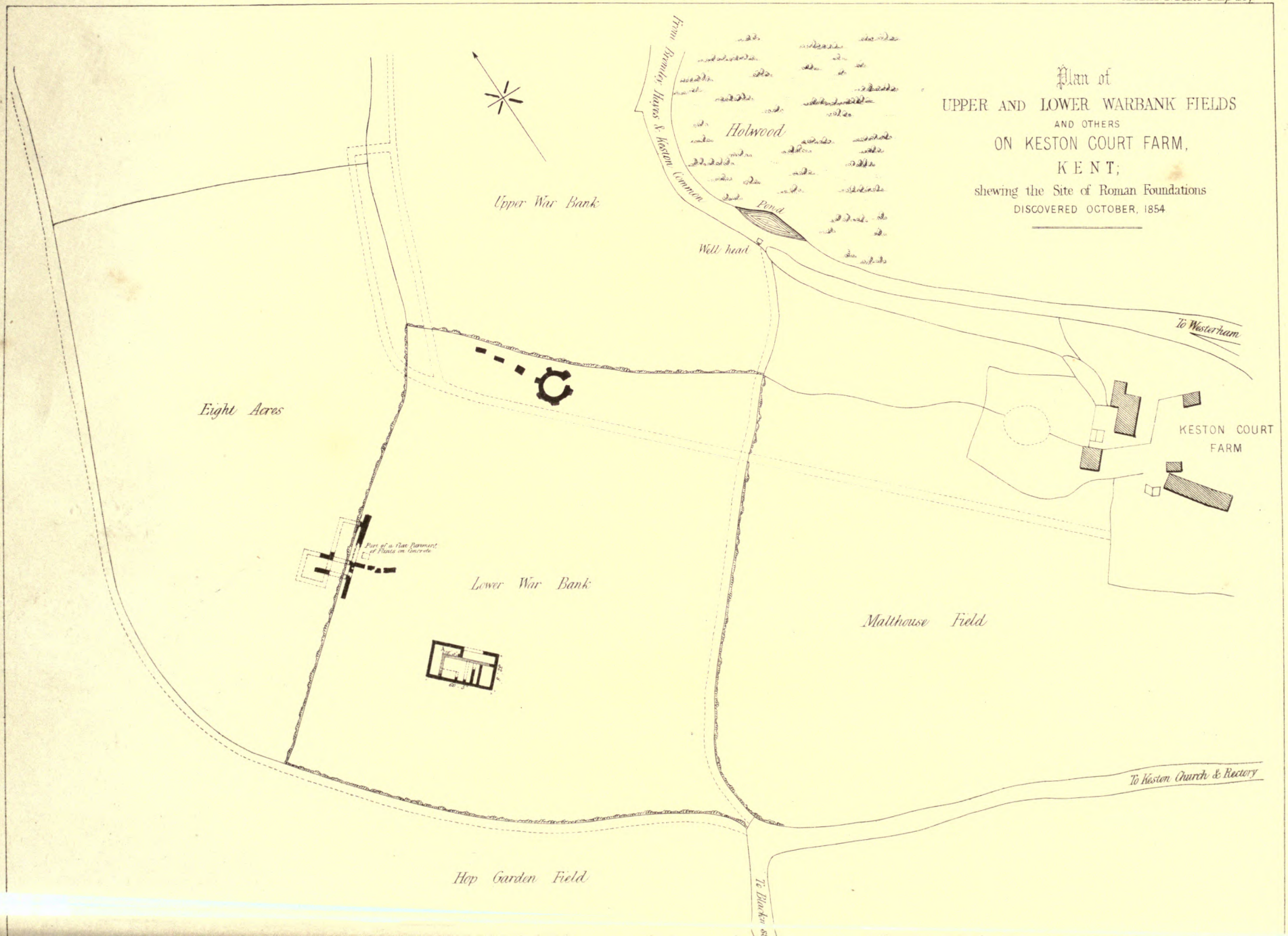
quoted; and in all of them Cystaning Mearçe is one of the boundaries. This name of Cystaning seem to be composed of cyst, "a chest or coffin," stane, "stone," and ing, "a field." It would thus mean, "The Field of Stone Coffins," a name singularly applicable to a spot where sepulchral remains, including stone coffins of a date anterior to the Anglo-Saxon name of the place, have been found at so recent a period.

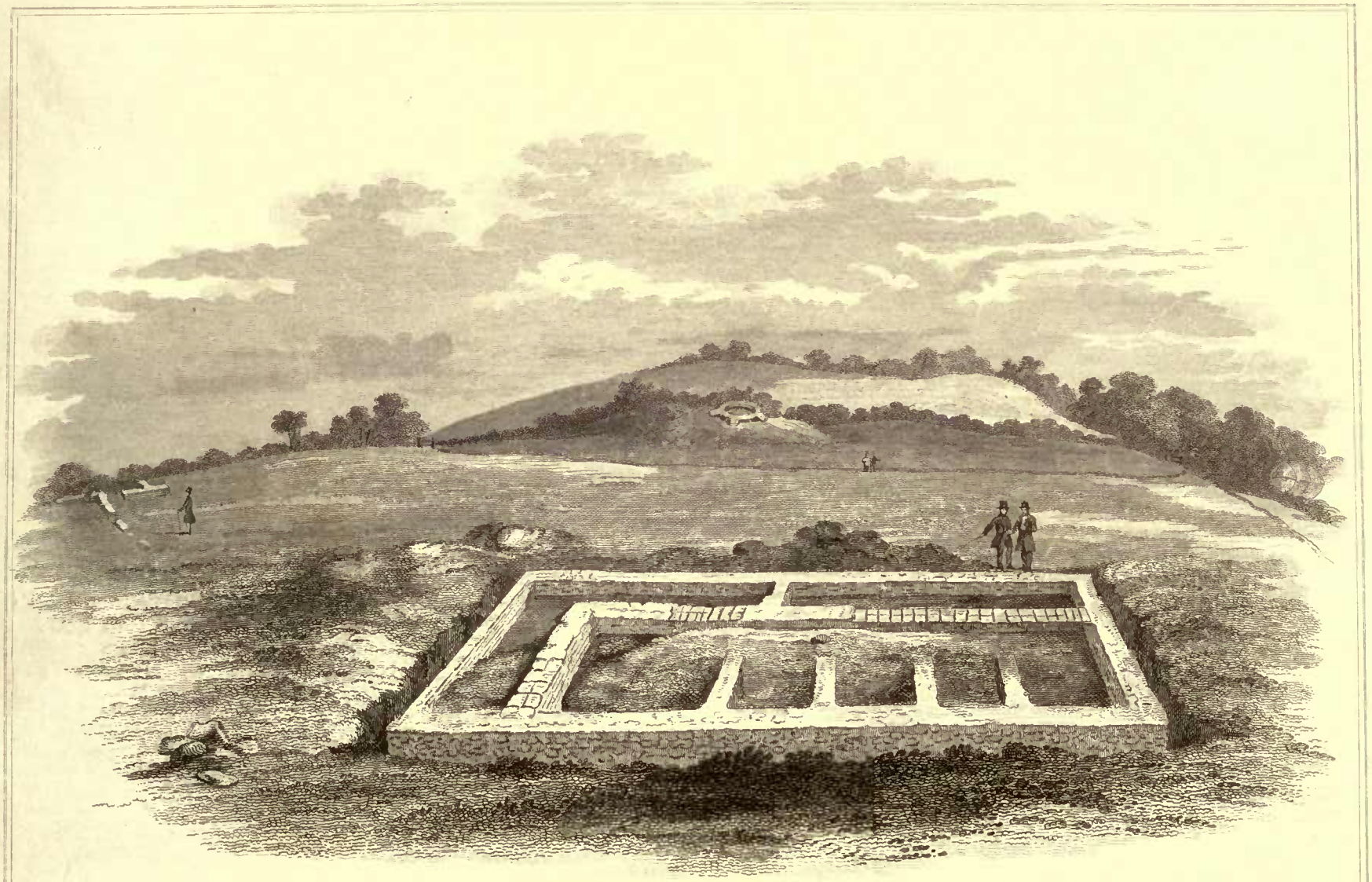
The conversion of Cystaning into Keston is elucidated by Domesday Book, in which the place is called "Chestan." The "ch" being pronounced hard gives the modern name of the place.

The word "mearce," so frequently mentioned in the description of the boundary of the above mentioned grant, seems to require some notice: its obvious signification is "a boundary," but it is to be observed that the Anglo-Saxon tribes appear to have had as a boundary between each other a district of waste or uninclosed and uncultivated land, as in the Marches of Wales, called "marks," with which some sacred or superstitious ideas were connected. My friend Mr. Akerman has directed my attention to a passage in Kemble's Saxons in England, illustrative of this peculiarity,[a] and we may suppose that some superstition

[a] It is as follows:—"Let us first take into consideration the Mark in its restricted and proper sense of a boundary. Its most general characteristic is, that it should not be distributed in arable, but remain in heath, forest, fen and pasture. In it the Markmen—called in Germany, Markgenossen, and perhaps by the Anglo-Saxons Mearcgeneátas—had commonable rights; but there could be no private estate in it, no lúd or hlot, κλῆρος or *haeredium*. Even if under peculiar circumstances any markman obtained a right to essart or clear a portion of the forest, the portion so subjected to the immediate law of property ceased to be mark. It was undoubtedly under the protection of the gods; and it is probable that within its woods were those sacred shades especially consecrated to the habitation and service of the deity.

"If the nature of an early Teutonic settlement, which has nothing in common with a city, be duly considered, there will appear an obvious necessity for the existence of a mark, and for its being maintained inviolate. Every community, not sheltered by walls, or the still firmer defences of public law, must have one, to separate it from neighbours, and protect it from rivals: it is like the outer pulp that surrounds and defends the kernel. No matter how small or how large the community—it may be only a village, even a single household, or a whole state—it will still have a mark, a space, or boundary, by which its own rights of jurisdiction are limited, and the encroachments of others are kept off. The more extensive the community which is interested in the mark, the more solemn and sacred the formalities by which it is consecrated and defended; but even the boundary of the private man's estate is under the protection of the gods and of the law. 'Accursed,' in all ages and all legislations, 'is he that removeth his neighbour's landmark. Even the owner of a private estate is not allowed to build or cultivate to the extremity of his own possession, but must leave a space for eaves. Nor is the general rule abrogated by changes in the original compass of the communities; as smaller districts coalesce and become, as it were, compressed into one body, the smaller and original marks may become obliterated and converted merely into commons, but the public mark will have been increased upon the new and extended frontier. Villages tenanted by Heardingas or


Plan of
UPPER AND LOWER WARBANK FIELDS
AND OTHERS
ON KESTON COURT FARM,
KENT;
shewing the Site of Roman Foundations
DISCOVERED OCTOBER, 1854
From Keston Lees & Keston Common
Holwood
Pond
Well head
Upper War Bank
To Westerham
Eight Acres
KESTON COURT FARM
Part of a Tile Pavement of Tiles on Concrete
Lower War Bank
Malthouse Field
To Keston Church & Rectory
Hop Garden Field



F.W.Fairholt, F.S.A. del.t *J.Basire. sc.*

REMAINS OF THE ROMAN VILLA FOUND AT KESTON.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 27th April 1856.

prevailed in the neighbourhood respecting Keston Mark (which is situate between Holwood Hill and the high road from Bromley to Farnborough, and was until a recent period an open common), from the fact that in the church, the communion table of oak is inlaid with a device formed of different woods, in the form of a cross *bottonée;* underneath which is written "The Keston Mark," and "In hoc signo vinces."

The table is of the seventeenth century, and the device upon it seems to indicate that the clergy of that day sought to divert the thoughts of the people from a superstitious notion about the Keston Mark, to the Christian mark of the Cross.

Mr. Akerman suggests that this cross is a *reproduction of a very early cross* set up on the establishment of Christianity in this part of England, the earliest

Módingas may cease to be separated, but the larger divisions which have grown up by their union—Meanwaras, Mægsetan, or Hwiccas will still have a boundary of their own; these again may be lost in the extending circuit of Wessex or Mercia; till, a yet greater obliteration of the marks having been produced through increasing population, internal conquest, or the ravages of foreign invaders, the great kingdom of England at length arises, having wood and desolate moorland or mountain as its mark against Scots, Cumbrians, and Britons, and the eternal sea itself as a bulwark against Frankish and Frisian pirates.

"But, although the mark is waste, it is yet the property of the community: it belongs to the freemen as a whole, not as a partible possession: it may as little be profaned by the stranger, as the arable land itself which it defends. It is under the safeguard of the public law long after it has ceased to be under the immediate protection of the gods: it is unsafe, full of danger; death lurks in its shades and awaits the incautious or hostile visitant:

> all the markland was
> with death surrounded,
> the snares of the foe:

punishments of the most frightful character are denounced against him who violates it; and though, in historical times, these can only be looked upon as comminatory and symbolical, it is very possible that they may be the records of savage sacrifices believed due, and even offered, to the gods of the violated sanctuary. I can well believe that we, too, had once our Diana Taurica. The marks are called accursed; that is, accursed to man, accursed to him that does not respect their sanctity; but they are sacred, for on their maintenance depend the safety of the community, and the service of the deities whom that community honours. And even when the gods have abdicated their ancient power, even to the very last, the terrors of superstition come in aid of the enactments of law; the deep forests and marshes are the abodes of monsters and dragons; wood-spirits bewilder and decoy the wanderer to destruction: the Nicors house at the side of lakes and marshes: Grendel, the man-eater, is a 'mighty stepper over the mark;' the chosen home of the firedrake is a fen.

"The natural tendency, however, of this state of isolation is to give way; population is an ever-active element of social well-being: and when once the surface of a country has become thickly studded with communities settled between the marks, and daily finding the several clearings grow less and less sufficient for their support, the next step is the destruction of the marks themselves, and the union of the settlers in larger bodies, and under altered circumstances."—Kemble's Saxons in England, vol. i. book i. ch. 2.—"The Mark."

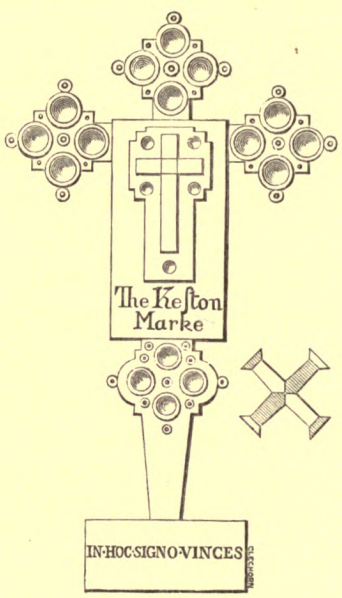
portion of the island converted, and he observes: "This seems the more probable from the circumstance of the Marc containing the cwealm-stow, or place of execution, where criminals were sacrificed, as Kemble shows in the note cited."

I send you a drawing by Mr. Fairholt of the cross on the communion table, in illustration of this remark, and I beg to refer to Mr. Kemble's observations on the Anglo-Saxon mearçe in further illustration of the curious details of Æthelberht's grant.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your very faithful servant,

GEO. R. CORNER.



XV. *The Graves of the Alemanni at Oberflacht in Suabia.* *By* W. M. Wylie, *Esq. B.A. F.S.A.*

Read February 22 and March 1, 1855.

It is pleasant to refer to the archæological opinions of the last century in England, when antiquarian alchymy could transpose the ornamental beads of the Saxon tomb into "Druid snake-eggs," and throw a Roman halo round relics it was too impossible to ascribe to the Celts. Nor were matters better in France. Every sepulchral discovery was classed as Gaulish, or Gallo-Roman; and even Montfaucon could assume the ponderous belt-buckle of a Merovingian warrior to belong to female head-gear.[a] At this time, indeed, the Saxon and Frankish periods seem to have been altogether ignored; but archæology has at length cast off such erring traditions.

Thanks to Douglas[b] and his modern followers, we have arrived at a more correct apprehension of our own national antiquities. Not content with this, our more zealous antiquaries are ever seeking to increase our still scanty stock of information on this all-important subject, by such comparison with the remains of the cognate races of continental Europe as the isolated efforts of individuals may effect. The zealous writings of the Abbé Cochet,[c] and Dr. Rigollot,[d] in France, and of Herr Lindenschmit,[e] in Germany, have rendered infinite service, by setting vividly before us, in detail, their discoveries of the remains respectively of the Salic and the Ripuarian Franks.[f]

I would now, then, solicit the attention of the Society to some remarkable relics

[a] Antiquité Expliquée, tom. v. p. 192, planche 137.

[b] Nenia Britannica.

[c] Normandie Souterraine, 2e edition, Paris, 1855.

[d] "Recherches Historiques sur les Peuples de la Race Teutonique," in vol. x. of the Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie.

[e] Das Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen, Mainz, 1848.

[f] To our learned colleague Mr. Roach Smith we owe a valuable commentary on these works in the second volume of his Collectanea Antiqua.

from a source altogether new to us—the Alemannic. In these vestiges of the inhabitants of a remote valley of the Black Forest, near the sources of the Danube, we may trace the same salient peculiarities which pourtray the habits and customs of the conquerors of Gaul and Britain. It is indeed very probable that the same family assimilation will ever be found to exist in all Teutonic remains assignable to the Heathen period. At this moment, when the fearful struggle for mastery between the rival races of Teuton and Sclave seems about to convulse the world, such retrospective inquiry as may recall the primæval kindred ties and brotherhood of Frank, German, and Saxon, may not be altogether useless or uninteresting.

When at Stuttgart, during the past summer, I had an opportunity of examining these Alemannic relics with Captain von Dürrich, of the Würtemberg Engineers, to whom we are indebted for their discovery. This took place at Oberflacht, in Suabia, so far back as 1846, and an account appeared in the yearly memoirs of the Antiquarian Society of Stuttgart. Beyond a passing allusion to the fact in the preface to the English edition of Worsaae's "Primæval Antiquities," I believe we have hitherto remained without notice of these exceedingly remarkable Teutonic remains.

Oberflacht is a village about two leagues distant from Tutlingen, a small town on the confines of Würtemberg and Baden, not far distant from the sources of the Danube at Donaueschingen. On one side of the Oberflacht valley rises the lofty hill of Lupfen, with a fir wood on its summit; on the opposite side is another hill, termed the Karpfen. When the Alemannic tribe were in possession of the valley, it would seem to have been a sylvan region, abounding with large oaks; but, with the exception of the firs on the Lupfen, the spot is now totally void of forest trees. The valley is all meadow ground, through which the brook Elda[a] winds its way, and, after uniting its waters with the Faulbach, enters the Danube below at Tutlingen.

Just out of Oberflacht is a hillock,[b] marked by a wooden cross, which from time immemorial has borne the name of "Kreuzbühel." It was here that a neighbouring brickmaker, searching the ground for clay, made the original discovery

[a] It is quite worthy of attention how frequently the vicinity of water has been selected for the sites of Teutonic burial-places. We notice the fact at Selzen; at Envermeu, Londinières, Douvrend, in France; and in England, at Wilbraham, Fairford, Harnham, and Wingham. Further inquiry would, perhaps, enable us to cite many other spots.

[b] This swelling hillock was once probably very much higher. It seems to resemble that at Linton Heath, opened by the Hon. R. C. Neville, and found to contain so many Saxon interments. (Journal of Archæol. Institute, vol. xi. p. 95.)

of these Alemannic remains. No record exists which hints at the application of this spot to sepulchral uses; nor does any such tradition linger among the village peasants, who for ages have buried their dead in the parish cemetery on the side of the opposite hill of Karpfen. The discovery, therefore, took all parties by surprise; but as the brickmaker, after breaking up several interments, desisted from the troublesome task, it seems to have excited little attention, and so remained for some years in abeyance.

In the autumn of 1846, circumstances led Captain von Dürrich and Dr. Wolfgang Menzel to make a prolonged and scientific examination, which, it will be seen, was conducted in the most satisfactory manner. We owe much to these gentlemen for their records and drawings *in situ*, ever the most valuable. Many of the most remarkable objects were of wood, which, though perfect when discovered, rapidly became disorganised on exposure to the air, and were only saved at all by skilful chemical appliances.

The mode of burial pursued by this tribe of Alemanni is most remarkable. We find no traces of cremation. The right of inhumation was pursued in two ways, both having singular regard to the preservation of the corpse. The more prevailing mode seems to have been, to fell a massive oak, cleave the bole into nearly equal parts, and hollow out the interior to serve for a sarcophagus (Pl. XIII. fig. 6). After the body and the various accompanying relics were placed in this tree-coffin (*todtenbaum*) the two parts were refitted, and firmly pegged together. In the whole of this process no trace of the saw appears. It was managed with the axe or adze alone, and hence it follows that the stems are frequently found unevenly divided. On the outside the bark was merely removed, and the inequalities smoothed off. On the upper part, or lid, of such coffins as contained the corpses of *men*, the crested forms of snakes are rudely carved on the whole length in full relief (Pl. XII.). The heads of these reptiles, which are furnished with teeth, and horns, or ears, project at either end, and serve for handles:

> " —— adytis cum lubricus anguis ab imis
> Septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit,
> Amplexus placidè tumulum." [a]

In some cases the stems of pear-trees have been used, and have always been found in a very decayed state. These tree-coffins were mostly found at a depth of from four to five feet. Those of the men were about nine feet long; those of women and children were shorter.

[a] Virgil. Æneid. iv. l. 242.

The other description of interment was on a couch or crib (*todten-bettstatt*), the framework of which consisted of four posts, connected by a tastily-carved wooden rail (Pl. XI. fig. 2).

On one occasion, this death-couch was divided horizontally into two stories (Pl. XI. fig. 3); while another, not less than eleven feet and a-half in length, was found to be divided into three compartments.

Another again was furnished with a covering like a gable roof (Pl. XII. fig. 3), on the ridge of which the usual guardian snakes were carved. The bodies lay with the heads to the west, and the variations from this direction were very trifling.

The smaller coffins were found merely lying in the clay, and were generally in a state of decay. Those of a better class, however, were protected from the incumbent soil by a covering of massive oaken planks placed sometimes lengthways, sometimes across the grave. In the latter case the cross beams were occasionally found in two layers; the upper layer being so arranged as to overlap the divisions of the lower. The richer interments again were completely cased, as though in a chest, with massive oak trees. In several graves the roofing was higher at the extremities of the interments than at the middle, apparently for the purpose of more effectually protecting the serpents' heads carved on the coffin lids.

The wood has generally become hard and black like ebony, and is admirably adapted for the purposes of the cabinet maker.

This extraordinary state of preservation of the coffins, as also of the relics of wood they contained, is most probably to be attributed to the tenacious nature of the clay in which they were embedded, and, as it were, hermetically sealed up. The water, too, which had penetrated at the junctions, had deposited a slimy coating of clay, which insinuated itself everywhere. The tannin and gallic acid contained in the green oak stems must also have contributed a powerful antiseptic principle. Such at least was Dr. Buckland's opinion respecting a similar British interment found near Gristhorpe, in Yorkshire, and now preserved in the Scarborough Museum. A careful analysis of the soil and water might perhaps further assist us in explaining the remarkable preservation of objects so naturally liable to decay.

Not to weary the Society, I have endeavoured to be as concise as possible in the foregoing introduction of our subject. The account of the individual graves and their contents will, I am sure, be far more useful and acceptable if given at full in the able words of Dr. Menzel, who was present at their examination. The translation has, therefore, purposely been made as literal as possible:—

"It must be first remarked that we opened possibly a dozen graves in which no relic was met with, none at least possessing any characteristic value. Such graves

we have not noticed. It will also be borne in mind that all the coffins were of oak, when it is not otherwise expressly mentioned.

" The grave No. 1, under the way-side cross, was opened by Mr. Baader, post-master of Tutlingen, and contained a tree-coffin (*todten-baum*), with the snakes' heads; also an oval-shaped wooden bowl, and an exceedingly well preserved bow, six feet long (Pl. XIII. fig. 5).

" No. 2 was opened by Judge Hartmann, of Spaichingen, and also contained a tree-coffin with snakes' heads. In this lay a male skeleton, which we received entire; a piece of the skull had been cleft out by a powerful blow; it still retained a strongly offensive smell of corruption. On the right of the skeleton lay a stout rusted iron sword, in a wooden scabbard, bound about in the upper part with birch-bast. All the swords we met with afterwards were, like this, two feet and a half long, one inch and a quarter broad, and two-edged; there was also a strong bow, seven feet long, like all those last found, with the remains of arrows, so withered up that we at first took them for bowstrings. Between the leg bones lay a gourd, with its round form still preserved, of four inches diameter, a walnut, and fifteen hazel-nuts. The feet were in handsome leather sandals (Pl. XIII. fig. 4). The leather, like all the rest found in the graves, was very thin and flabby, but manifestly only rendered so by time.

" No. 3 and the rest of the graves were opened by the editors. This grave, with the two next, were opened in the spring of 1846. It contained a very decayed tree-coffin of pear wood. Embedded in leaves and moss within it lay an equally decayed female skeleton. In the middle of it, in the mire, we found a remarkable comb of black horn (Pl. XIII. fig. 1), ornamented with white rings, in a case of the same material similarly ornamented. By it lay an almost entirely oxydised iron buckle, with four purple glass studs at the corners (Pl. XIV. fig. 9). Lastly, a massive bronze ring of two inches in diameter.

" No. 4. Decayed tree-coffin of pear wood. It contained an equally decayed male skeleton, with a dark woollen cloth round the middle. The texture is close, with a lozenge-shaped pattern.

" No. 5. In an inclosure of thick planks was a large death-couch (*todten-bettstatt*), neatly constructed in two stories (Pl. XI. fig. 3). A thick pole lay crossways in the upper chamber from south-east to north-west; at the feet was a handsome wooden bottle (Pl. XIV. figs. 2 and 3). In the lower division was a tolerably decayed but still distinguishable skeleton, with arms and legs crossed, and a white, barked, hazel-rod placed between the legs. On either side of the head were two very remarkable shoes, most beautifully carved in wood. On the hips were found rags of the same dark

cloth as in grave 4. Between the legs, also, was a large wooden bowl, on which a smaller one was still standing, covered with the same cloth. On the left of the dead was the shell of a large gourd, but it had not retained its round form; and in the right hand was a cherry-stone. Crossways, before the feet, was a piece of wood, carved like bamboo.

"No. 6, with all the following graves, was opened by us in the autumn of 1846, and contained in its inclosure of thick boards a tree-coffin with the snakes' heads. On the foot of the coffin stood a deep large wooden bowl, on the which lay a second one, but shallower, which formed the cover. Inside was a bow and three arrows. The arrows in all the coffins were alike—two feet long, thicker above than below. The remains of the cement, with which the feathers had been fastened, was still visible. No metal points were found; only sometimes the small rivets with which the missing points had been fastened. The blunted end, on which the point had been, was on some arrows stained of a cinnabar-red colour.

"No. 7, beneath a double covering of boards, but without the side-walls, contained a tree-coffin, on the upper snake-head of which the horns and fangs were preserved. Outside the tree, on the right of the feet, lay an iron lance-head, thrust through a delicately turned little wooden bowl; near was an earthern jug. Within was a well-preserved male skeleton, which we brought away with us, together with the tree. On its right lay a well-preserved iron sword. On the left were two iron swords still sharp; a horizontal piece of bronze, ornamented with snakes' heads, whereon probably a pouch had hung; bronze tweezers; a stylus of the same metal; a remarkable piece of wood; an iron buckle with inlaid purple glass studs, as in No. 3; two flints; some felt; and a little rag of dark cloth. At the feet was a wooden bowl.

"No. 8 contained a tree-coffin. Outside, at the feet, was a well-preserved wooden bowl. Inside was a broken bowl of pottery; a large wooden bowl, with some remains of a dark thick porridge, and on it a well-preserved wooden bottle; near this was a small wooden bowl. On the right side again were three arrows. The long bow lay athwart the body. In the middle of the coffin, at the very bottom, lay two flat pieces of wood in the form of hands (Pl. XIII. fig. 2), and of natural size, near a handsome pair of bronze tweezers.

"No. 9, a tree-coffin (Pl. XIII. fig. 6). At the foot, on the left, a great earthen jug. On the right was a wooden candlestick, just like those still in use in this place. On the right side was again a bow, and three arrows.

"No. 10, a skeleton in a decayed coffin. The neck was standing straight up, while the head rested between the two feet, with the face turned to the body. The

neck joints were not cut through, but the first was wanting. On the right side a bow was lying, cut into three equally divided pieces. Near this were three arrows and a long rod lying lengthwise on the skeleton. Could this have been the grave of some person who died by the hand of the executioner? and could the bow have been thus cut up as a mark of infamy?

"No. 11, very shattered, but containing at the right of the feet a well-preserved earthen jug with a spout, and blackened on one side, perhaps by its long service at the fire on the hearth. Also the remains of bows and arrows, with cinnabar-red points, and of two wooden bowls. In the very middle of the coffin lay fifty-eight cherry-stones in a heap in the mire.

"No. 12 was deep, and contained the small coffin of a child, almost entirely decayed. We only found in it six staves of a little tub, and the remains of a wooden bowl.

"No. 13 had gone to pieces, and was empty. It only merits mention because flat stones lay over it instead of wooden beams.

"No. 14 had a boarded roofing, forming, as usual, a long quadrangle, with the corners unusually rounded off. Beneath it lay a smoothed and perfectly round tree-coffin, without the snakes' heads, which contained female remains covered with water, in which seven pears were swimming about. These were brown and shrivelled, but the rind, the insides, and stems, of an inch to one and a half in length, were very distinguishable. By the remains were a tattered rag, as in No. 4, and of lighter and browner texture; a cloth like that of No. 7; and a fine bordered riband, two inches long, that we at first took for linen, but afterwards found to be silk. It is strongly woven, and of brown colour. Also two little wooden instruments, which doubtless appertained to female occupations.

"No. 15, very decomposed, but in it was a well-preserved bow, an arrow, and a rusted knife, with a small whetstone much used. A little key was found in the ground outside, quite close to the coffin.

"No. 16, a little child's couch, resting on pillars. Within, on the right, was a little black earthen vessel, and the remains of a large wooden bowl. Crossways, over the feet, was a wooden stool. About the middle of the body was a bronze finger ring, and a stone spindle-twirl. On the neck were seven large glass beads. Near the body, on the left, lay a large, sceptre-formed, piece of wood.

"No. 17 contained a couch. In it were a singular pair of leather gloves, strongly laced on the back of the hand, and lined in the inside with a soft cloth, almost perished. On the right was a little vessel, neatly turned out of a single piece of oak. At the feet were two large and one small wooden bowls.

"No 18, entirely in decay. It contained a large knife, with a bronze handle, unfortunately almost entirely perished; the rich ornamentation upon it was scarcely recognisable.

"No 19, a decayed tree-coffin. Within, at the feet, was a large black earthen jug, set on a broad wooden platter, in the which some thick brown porridge yet remained. A thick bed of well-preserved moss, which we brought away with us, filled up the whole coffin. Upon it was lying a female body; the red hair was still in good preservation; but, on exposure to the air, it turned brown. A hair-pin was still fastened in it, and close by were the remains of a little leathern hood, and a kind of slag-ashes. Round the neck were twenty small variegated glass beads. By these was also a lot of pears, with long stems.

"No. 20, decayed. A single yellow glass bead was where the neck had been; on the feet two leathern sandals; and a wooden bowl.

"No. 21, quite perished. It only contained a broken wooden bowl of the bellying-out pitcher form.

"No. 22, quite perished, and full of a sticky, almost dry clay, out of which we extracted twenty-nine glass beads, fourteen of amber, and a peach stone furnished with a shank. This last lay with the glass beads, and belonged to the necklace.

"No. 23, quite perished. It only contained two grooved pieces of wood, with a button and a hazel-nut.

"No. 24. Tree-coffin, with snakes' heads. Outside, on the right of the feet, was a wooden candlestick (Pl. XIII. fig. 3); inside, at the feet, was a decayed wooden bottle, and a small wooden bowl within a large one, with a buckle, and a wand seven feet long.

"No. 25 was quite perished. Out of the thick clay we extracted twenty-three glass beads, five of amber, and an oval one of amethyst.

"No. 26, perished; with the coffin, probably, of a boy. At the feet, a very neat earthenware bowl, black, with ornamentation in silver or lead glaze; a well-preserved tub; the remains of a wooden platter; and a solitary cherry-stone in the middle of the coffin.

"No. 27, very perished. At the feet, on the left, was a set of weaving implements in perfect preservation. Between two thin boards, of an oval and somewhat pointed form, one foot five and a half inches long, were eight very thin boards, two spindles or knitting-pins, and a very pretty reed, which closely corresponds to the measure of a Würtemberg foot. The very perished skeleton of a female lay embedded in straw, tolerably well preserved; near it was a handsome wooden bowl.

"No. 28. A tree-coffin, with snakes' heads, within a well-constructed railed inclosure (Pl. XII. figs. 1 and 2). Outside, on the right, was a handsome iron lance-head, fastened to the shaft with gilt nails, which was bound round with a thin leather strap spiral-wise. On the left were the remains of an oval wooden shield, covered with some white material, and this again with leather, two feet and a half long, and one foot and a half broad. Below the tree lay two long thin hazel rods, probably of a mystic import, for they would have been too weak for staves. Inside was a decomposed male skeleton of unusual size, (a still preserved thigh-bone measures nineteen inches,) also a little black hair, an iron sword, which this time exceptionally lay on the left side, high up towards the head, in a wooden scabbard covered with leather, and bound round with birch-bast. Also a thick bronze buckle, and a small one, a wooden bottle, a single cherry-stone, and several pear-pips. At the feet was a handsome black jug, with fifty-five hazel nuts.

"No. 29 contained a coffin with snakes' heads, in which, contrary to the usual rule, there lay, not a man's, but a woman's skeleton. This skeleton we brought away with us; with the exception of the upper jaw, it is in a good state of preservation. Round the neck were twenty-one beads of glass, and nineteen of amber; also two bronze fibulæ, ornamented with purple glass (Pl. XIV. figs. 5 and 8), to hold the dress together, and a bronze ring; also two more wooden implements of work like those mentioned in No. 14; near them was a wooden spindle-twirl. At the feet was a handsome wooden dish. In this interment, too, were found three well-preserved walnuts, and a plum-stone.

"No. 30. A very wide couch, unfortunately almost entirely perished. We got out of the soft clay a superb fibula (Pl. XIV. figs. 4 and 7). The plate of thin gilding, laid on a strong cement, is covered with filigree ornament. The central cross-formed relievo ornamentation, in red glass, bears three very small glass studs at each of its four corners. The other side is plated, and has some marks scratched on it, the meaning of which is not distinguishable. Here, also, was further found a small bronze buckle, and two large beads.

"No. 31, the largest grave we have met with. At the depth of seven feet it contained a couch eleven feet and a half long, and three and a half broad. Its length was divided into three chambers; in the first chamber, seven feet long, was a male skeleton, probably of a youth, from the disproportioned stature. The head was bent to the right and reclined on a handsome iron sword, the double-guard and pommel of which still remained, and on a kind of stringed instrument of wood; both of these were lying on the right arm. About the middle of the body

was found a very wide belt-buckle with two broad gilt studs, and a large pointed knife in a superb sheath. The knife is eleven inches long, and single-edged; it has a broad back, and is slightly curved underneath. The sheath is double the width of the knife; the wooden or leather frame with which it must have been furnished was gone, but its form was to be made out from the three gilt bands, and the gilt and richly ornamented scabbard point, which clearly is of some amalgam like pinchbeck. In this division of the tomb there was also found a small knife, and a hundred and seventy-two hazel nuts. In the second chamber lay a well preserved iron horse-bit, with rosettes also of iron; the very richly-designed ornamentations of these are inlaid with fine silver wire. With these was also a number of clasps and buckles of perished straps, all of very skilful workmanship, either embossed, or of iron inlaid with silver wire. The third chamber had two subdivisions; in the left were the remains of a wooden saddle, and a horse breast-belt of bronze with escutcheons. On the right was a wooden candlestick, with two flint-stones; a large wooden bowl with four circles round it; a mystic wooden shoe, not like the ornamented ones in No. 5, but simply a form cut and well modelled to the shape of the foot; also a wooden slab with devices carved upon it. Close by, outside the chamber, on the right, was an iron lance-head, much oxydised.

"No. 32, much perished. It contained a necklace of fifty-five handsome glass beads, the half of a hollow bronze ring, the remains of a bronze border, some fragments of leather, and some hazel nuts.

"No. 33, much decayed. It contained a finger-ring, and a small bronze buckle, a mysterious little dark grey stone, and a stud.

"No. 34, very shattered. Within was a sword entirely oxydised, but on which the very remarkable wooden scabbard still adhered. At the right side a bow with three arrows; in the middle a large iron buckle; and at the feet a well preserved pail, with a wooden jug, turned in the most skilful manner, and an elegant wooden bowl. In the last was a dark mass of spoon-meat, and by it two curious transparent skins, one round as a bladder, the other long-shaped, giving the idea of a sausage.

"No. 35, much perished. It contained a wooden cup, and five flints.

"No. 36 only had a bronze buckle, with two flints.

"No. 37 only contained some pieces of leather, and a singular piece of wood, a foot long.

"No. 38, also sadly perished. Above appeared a straight comb with two rows of teeth. By it was some black hair, and fragments of cloth, as in No. 7. A sort

of spindle twirl-stone seemed to betoken a woman's corpse, but we must take it to be the pommel of a sword,[a] as we found the sword by it. A long rod in the coffin also pointed out a male interment. The comb also belonged to a man's head-dress. Outside also was a knife, and a bronze stud. Between the feet was a large wooden bowl, with spoon-meat, and remains of bones; also a small wooden bowl. At the feet, on the right, was an earthern pot, wherein also were remains of spoon-meat, and bones.

"No. 39, very perished. It contained a long hazel wand, some tattered leather sandals, a bronze buckle, a flint stone, a hazel nut, and some straw.

"No. 40 disclosed itself in the form of a death-couch, with a regular gable roof (Pl. XII. fig. 3), on the top of which lay the two snakes. The inside, unfortunately, was much destroyed. Besides thirty hazel nuts, we found several interesting objects at the feet of the dead, a very thin round piece of brass, a long plate with a small escutcheon, a tall thin glass (Pl. XIV. fig. 1), with white ornamentation burnt in, unfortunately broken; a small but still elastic strap of leather, a wooden platter, a broken wooden bottle, two wooden shoes, and some hog's bristles. On the coffin were some pieces of resin. In the surrounding earth was also a rusted knife."—*Jahreshefte des Wirtenbergischen Alterthums Vereins*, iii.

After hearing Dr. Menzel's interesting and minute account of the result of the Oberflacht excavations, we can have but little doubt as to the general Teutonic character of these graves. With the remains of the Celts there is manifestly nothing in common, while they differ from those purely Scandinavian, or the more hybridised memorials of Livonia, Courland, or Esthonia. On the other hand, they strongly assimilate with the remains found throughout Rhenish Germany, Belgium, and France, which we distinguish by the term of Frankish. Assuming these graves then to be Teutonic, to which branch of this large family may they correctly be assigned? Dr. Menzel, apparently with great reason, considers them Alemannic. On the *Völkerwanderung*, or general migration of the German nations, which overthrew the Roman power, this country became peopled by the Alemanni. This name probably represents the union of many tribes, like the Frankish and Saxon confederations. Dr. Menzel further considers these Alemanni to have been the direct progenitors of the present inhabitants. This again appears probable enough from the following inferential evidence deduced from archæology. In the Lupfen neighbourhood, the coffins of common use still bear the old appellation of *todten-baüme*—literally, "trees of the dead." It is even now not unfrequently the custom to inter the dead in their usual attire, and, till very lately,

[a] It was probably one of the amuletic beads we find in Anglo-Saxon graves under similar circumstances.

with many a favourite object of their household stuff. So long will old heathen observances linger on in a rustic district! Lastly, the inhabitants of the Black Forest itself still greatly affect the use of wooden bowls and platters, and maintain their reputation as expert carvers and turners in wood.

When coins and inscriptions are altogether wanting, it is always difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at the date of such sepulchral remains. The unusual absence, however, of Roman pottery, or other relics, the well finished sword-blades, and the frequent occurrence of this weapon, the richness of the *damasquinure* work, the peculiar style of the fibulæ, perhaps, also, the fashion of the wooden utensils, especially of the bottles, all seem to concur in leading us to assign the late Carlovingian period as the probable date of these graves. Such an opinion is at least fortified by the experienced authority of Herr Lindenschmit. Further evidence to this effect also exists in the very deteriorated state of the composition of the bronze, which is always found to be the result of a late debased period of the arts. Professor Fehling, of Stutgard, who analysed the Oberflacht bronze, gives a result of—

87·68 Copper.
6·94 Tin.
1·15 Lead.
4·13 Zinc, mixed with a little Iron.

99·90

The same deterioration in the bronze of the late Merovingian period is shown by the skilful analysis of Professor Girardin, of Rouen.[a] A mirror of the rich bronze period, from the Gallo-Roman cemetery of Cany, gives a very different result:

Copper, 78·5.
Tin, 21·5.

100·0[a]

It is, however, but right to state that Dr. Grimm is disposed to assign a far earlier date to these remains, to which he twice alludes in his Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache.[b]

The great novelty we meet with, in these singularly preserved witnesses of the domestic requirements of a thousand years ago, undoubtedly consists in the many

[a] Analyses de plusieurs produits d'art d'une haute Antiquité. 2e Mémoire, par J. Girardin, Professeur de Chimie, de la Ville de Rouen.

[b] Pages 5 and 499.

articles of wood which we thus see formed so essential a part of a Teutonic ménage.[a] One is almost led to think that, but for "decay's effacing fingers," we should frequently meet with such wooden vessels in other graves of cognate nations; but never before have remains, so singularly preserved, been submitted to our examination.

With regard to the facts before us of interments in the hollowed-out stems of trees, it is not improbable that this custom was tolerably general among the Teuton tribes of the continent at a very early period, especially in the wooded districts. Some little inquiry into this part of our subject may not be without interest. Among the Anglo-Saxons, indeed, such tribes as practised the right of inhumation seem, for the most part, to have committed their dead to the earth in the very simplest form, unprotected by coffin, or aught that could delay the work of decay. The sole example of a *todten-baum* in our own country, therefore, is that of Gristhorpe, in Yorkshire, and this belongs to the Celtic period. But it was not so with the Franks. Round Merovingian graves a black residuum will often be noticed, as I have myself witnessed, which might easily be taken for charcoal, but which has been shown by chemical analysis[b] to be formed by decomposition of wood. This residuum is very solid, and, as nails do not appear to be met with, it is most probable that these old Frankish *noffi*, *naufi*, or *sarcophagi*,[c] were in fact formed from solid trunks of trees. In a Merovingian cemetery, discovered just outside the gates of Metz, M. Victor Simon found the marble column of some Roman edifice, which had been sawn asunder and hollowed out to receive the remains of a Frankish chieftain, in lieu, perchance, of the more perishable *todten-baum*. Herr Lindenschmit also has met with the same circumstance at Mayence. The opinion too finds further confirmation in a remarkable passage in Gregory of Tours,[d] relating the cruelty of Rauchingus, a Merovingian noble, who caused two of his slaves to be interred alive for marrying without his consent. It is stated that a tree was cut down for the purpose; the bole was cleft with wedges, and hollowed out to receive the offending lovers. The words "ibique puellam *ut mortuam* componens" is very significative of the accustomed funeral employment of such a *noffus*. This was about the middle of the sixth century, and the

[a] "Die, wegen ihres wohlerhaltenen Holzwerkes, so merkwürdigen Gräber von Oberflacht." Lindenschmit, Germ. Todtenlager.

[b] Cochet's Normandie Souterraine, p. 227.

[c] Leg. Salic. Tit. xvii.—"In noffo, aut in petra, quæ vasa ex usu sarcophagi dicuntur."

[d] Hist. l. v. c. iii. M. Victor Simon is strongly of opinion that this mode of burial was common among the Franks at a very early period, in confirmation of which he pointed out to me this passage in Gregory of Tours.

Christian priest had the coffin exhumed, but too late to save the woman.[a] The word *naufus*, or *noffus*, with its many readings and corruptions,[b] which in its primary sense represents tree-burial, appears to be derived from a very ancient Frankish word, *nau*, meaning a small boat.[c]

In the old Gothic the word *naus* means a corpse. The Sanscrit, again, has the word *nau*, so used in its uninflected form in composition, but which, when inflected, becomes in the nominative before certain letters, *nau-h*, or *nau-s*, sometimes *nau-r*, and means a *boat* or *ship*. This ancient derivation of *naufus*, and its close correspondence with what we learn of the old Scandinavian sepulchral rites, is very striking.

This derivation stands remarkably in relation with the mysterious fancies of Teuton heathenism, as to the wanderings of the soul after death, and its passage over the dark waters which encircled the land of spirits.[d] The Scandinavian rovers too seem to have frequently been buried in their vessels,[e] and in the old poem of Beowulf, indeed, we find a hero's corpse placed with all honours in his ship, and so abandoned to the will of the winds and the waves. So too, in the Vilkina Saga, Wieland hollows out the stem of a tree, in which he incloses himself and his mystic treasures, and is floated over the sea to another land.

Going still further north, we learn from Scheffer[f] that the Laplanders thus buried their dead in the trunks of trees, or, these failing, *in their sledges*. Such interments too were similarly fenced in with wooden planks, the better to protect the body from the assaults of beasts of prey and from decay. Scheffer's account

[a] In a letter of Maurice, Archbishop of Rouen, in 1238 (D'Achery's Spicilegium, tom. 11, p. 522), we may observe a reminiscence of the old custom. His words are, "Sepeliri vel in terra, vel super terram, in plastro, *vel in trunco*, vel aliocunque modo." *Truncus*, taken here for any wooden coffin, undoubtedly had its origin in the old mode of tree-burial.

[b] Ducange, Gloss. Pithœi.—*Naufo*, *Sarcofago ligneo*, quibusdam quod *navis* formam referat, quæ Francis nostris olim *nau* dicta.

[c] *Nau*, biere, cercueil. C'est ainsi que nos anciens appellaient un bateau. Ménage, Dict. Etymologique.

Mr. Akerman has directed my attention to a parallel instance in our own language. He observes that in the south and west of England a *trough* is called a trow = A. S. ꝥreop (a *tree*) from which a trough was made by cutting the trunk in halves and hollowing them out. Such were the canoes of the primitive inhabitants of these islands, of which more than one example is known. There is one in the British Museum —and the long, attenuated barges on our canals are still called *Trows*.

[d] Deutsche Myth. p. 790, *Überfahrt*. Compare Dante, Purgatorio, Canto ii. l. 16.

[e] Gisla Surssonnar Saga. The custom of boat-burial is said to still exist among the Greenlanders.

[f] Lapponia, c. xxvii. p. 314, ed. Franc. M.DC.LXXIII. Compare also account of the barrow of Thyre Danebrod, in Jütland, with its sepulchral chamber of wood. Worsaae's Primeval Antiquities, p. 163: also, see Gretla Saga.

indeed wonderfully coincides with these discoveries at Oberflacht, and the sledge mode of burial stands especially in remarkable apposition with that in the couches (*todten-bettstatt*). Guichard, an old French writer of the sixteenth century, gives also a strikingly similar description of the mode of interment among the Circassians.[a]

The serpent forms sculptured on the coffin lids would alone suffice to convince us of the Heathen-Teutonic character of these graves, even if all further evidence were wanting. In the old legends and superstitions of Germany and Scandinavia, the serpent or dragon is a very favourite myth, and passes for the guardian of hidden treasures.[b] Such an interpretation would not be out of place in the present instance, but there may be yet a deeper and more mystic symbolism.

The serpent was sacred to Odin, and Scandinavian mythology has assigned the names of Ofnir and Sfœnir[c] to the two serpents of this god, who guard the nether world. In this, perhaps, we have a clue to the serpent-ornamentation of the Bauta and Runic stones;[d] of the old Scandinavian ships; and of articles of dress.

Again, the serpent was known to the German nations as the emblem of the soul; that is, of life, health, and immortality. In this light indeed it was of old sacred to Æsculapius among the Greeks and Romans.[e] Under the image of a golden serpent the Lombards,[f] who came from the north of Germany, appear to have worshipped Odin himself. The Lithuanians too seem to have worshipped the serpent.[g] In fact, it would appear that the tribes of Northern Germany and Selavonia generally regarded the serpent with feelings of superstitious reverence

[a] Ils vous prennent un gros arbre, et du tronc le plus gros et massif; ils en taillent une piece capable pour la longeur, puis la fendent en deux, creusans tant que le corps y puisse entrer à l'aise avec une partie des dons que les parens et autres luy auront faict : et, ayant mis le corps dedans le creux de bois, le posent au lieu ordonné pour la sepulture, où se trouve grande multitude de gents, qui luy dressent la tombe, à scavoir un grand mõceau de terre cõme un haut tetre." Funerailles, et diverses manieres d'ensevelir, descrites par Charles Guichard, Lyon, CIↃ.IↃ.LXXXI. Livre iii. pp. 408–9.

[b] Saxo Gramm. lib. ii. and vi. Beowulf, passim.

" Pinge duos angues, pueri, sacer est locus."

Persii sat. i. ver. 113.

From this line of Persius we gather that it was the custom at Rome to paint two snakes on any wall it was wished to preserve from defilement, just as the modern Romans paint a cross with the same intent, and, probably, the same success.

[c] W. Müller's Geschichte und System der altdeutschen Religion, Göttingen, 1844, p. 206.

[d] Keysler, Ant. Sept. 136-8.

[e] Macrobius, Saturnal. lib. i. c. 20.

[f] " Langobardi qui viperam auream et quasdam arbores adorabant." Cronica di Milano, in vol. xvi of Rer. Ital. Scriptores of Muratori; also see Vita di S. Barbato, in Acta Sanct. 19 Febr. p. 139.

[g] " Draeones adorant cum volucribus." Adam. Bremen. lib. iv. 17.

and awe, which in heathen minds would readily induce actual worship (*schlangendienst*). On this subject Dr. Grimm, in a reply with which he has favoured me to inquiries on this subject, observes, "It would be desirable to collect all the notices of the serpent forms (*schlangenbildungen*) of antiquity, for the purpose of establishing inductions."

In strong relation too with these sculptured guardians of the Oberflacht tombs stands the serpent Caduceus of Mercury:

> "Hâc animas ille evocat Orco
> Pallentes, alios sub tristia Tartara mittit."[a]

But the serpent-myth of Greeks, Romans, and Scandinavians, was possibly derived from one primeval Eastern source.[b]

In a review of the contents of the interments, the arms, perhaps, first claim our attention, and it will be seen that these differ very considerably from the weapons we are accustomed to meet with. Of the lance, above all others the Teuton weapon, we find but three examples here, while the sword, elsewhere usually so rare, occurs no less than six times in not more than twenty-five graves, which may be assigned to males of every degree.[c] The wooden scabbards, bound about with birch-bast, remind us of those of Selzen. One of the lances presents the peculiarity of a quadrilateral haft, such as we occasionally see in examples of the Angon. This lance was pointing upwards, by the head of the skeleton, as we find in Anglo-Saxon graves. (Pl. XII. fig. 1). The solitary shield enumerated is not furnished with a boss, but is merely a plain wooden targe of oval form, covered with leather. It will be remarked that the wood used in its construction is linden, which coincides with a passage in Beowulf,[d] and leads us to suppose this was the favourite material of the shield-wright. No spicula present themselves, and the

[a] Æneid. l. iv. 242. [b] The serpent indeed was formerly an object of worship in some parts of India. Dr. Menzel's remarks on some of the German superstitions in connection with our subject are very interesting. "A white crowned snake, dwelling beneath a hazel-bush, plays its part in German superstition under the name of the hazel-worm. But it elsewhere appears under the same tree in human form clothed with white, like a beneficent fairy which favours the sleeper beneath the hazel-tree with prophetic dreams, &c. Compare Prätorius's Glückstopf, 21; Bechstein's Thuringischer Sagenschatz, ii. 108; Gödsche's Schlesischer Sagenschatz, 103. The pagan fairy beneath the hazel-bough was changed in the popular tradition of the later period into the Christian Madonna. Compare Curiositaten, vi. 41; Gumpenberg's Marianischer Atlas, i. 47. The numerous hazel staves, and hazel nuts, are possibly in relation with this serpent symbol." Jahreshefte des Wirtenbergischen Alt. Vereins. iii.

The hazel staves had some mystic import. In the Eigil Saga we find the judges at a solemn trial fenced in from the crowd by a circle of hazel rods, or staves.

[c] The hilt of the sword from grave 31 resembles in its construction that found in Kent, figured in Akerman's Pagan Saxondom, Pl. xxiv.

[d] See also the Rigsmaal-Saga.

absence of the francisca, and the scramasax would at once certify these are not the graves of Franks. On the other hand, in the bows of yew we have a weapon of this early period quite new to us. Probably this is the first time bows have been exhumed from a Teuton grave. Of these there are no less than eight examples. The most perfect strongly resemble the English long bow, and are so well preserved as to appear fit for use, though the force of the internal wood-fibre, no doubt, has perished. Dwellers in deep forests, as this tribe were, the bow must have been an important weapon of the chace. It would not be easy to recognise the arrows in their present withered state. When first discovered they bore a different appearance. The place of the feathers, which Captain von Dürrich pointed out, would have been plainer, and the red stains on the points brighter. We all know how rapidly objects long buried in the earth lose their colour and consistency of form on exposure to the external air. How we are to interpret the circumstance of the arrows being deposited headless in the tomb, or account for the ruddy stains upon them, archæologists will, perhaps, be able to determine. Captain von Dürrich is disposed to consider the latter circumstance caused by the arrow points having been dipped in some poisonous mixture. Ovid, indeed, alludes to such a cruel custom among the savage Sarmatians [a] of the Euxine, though we might have doubted its existence among a German tribe of the ninth century. Yet we find an old law of the Bavarians [b] imposes a fine on wounding with poisoned arrows. There is also an old Salic law [c] to the same effect. The same detrimental effects of atmosphere are also visible in the curious relic from grave 31, which Doctor Menzel conceives to be the frame-work of a musical instrument. Probably it was a kind of rebec, or perhaps a rude guitar or lute.

Others of the wooden vessels again are in admirable preservation, and afford evidence of the skilful application of the turner's art at this early period. Several of the articles, especially a long-shaped keg, such as agricultural labourers carry, are turned out of a solid block of wood. The number of these domestic vessels for various uses sufficiently disproves the idea of their being placed in the graves as articles of value. The manufacture of such wares must have been very common, for of the mere household vessels, as bowls, platters, &c. we count at least thirty,

[a] Aspicis et mitti sub adunco toxica ferro,
Et telum causas mortis habere duas.
Ovid. ex Ponto, l. iv. ep. 7, v. 7.

[b] Siquis cum toxicata sagitta alicui sanguinem fuderit, cum xii. solid. componat.—Tit. xxi. Leg. Baiorum.

[c] Tit. xx. 2.

besides broken ones. The scanty chronicles of those gloomy ages are little likely to furnish details of wooden cups and platters, yet a passage in Gregory of Tours [a] points to their use by the Franks. Among the presents sent into Spain by Queen Brunichilde, we find enumerated two wooden pateræ—"quas vulgo Bacchinon vocant"—inlaid with gems and golden ornamentation. The marginal note explains *Bacchinon* to be the German *Becken*, or French *Bassin*. This was in the latter part of the sixth century.

The wooden candlesticks are also well preserved, and render us aware of another curious fact in Heathen interments. The flints deposited by the candlestick in grave 31 point out its intended use. The early councils,[b] and late capitularies,[c] afford sufficient evidence of the idolatrous use of candles and torches at spots which Heathenism had consecrated, as at certain trees, rocks, fountains, and the cross roads. It is not improbable, therefore, that lighted candles may have been placed in these tombs after the manner of the lamps of the Romans.

In Teuton belief, the warrior rode his steed to Valhalla;[d] hence in their graves the remains of horses are found.

"Quorundam igni et equus adjicitur," observes Tacitus[e] of old. In the present case decay has probably removed such remains, which we may suppose were once placed here, since we find the fragments of a saddle, with a bit, and the richly-worked bronze and *damasquinure* ornamentations of horse trappings, in grave 31. The remains of horses, however, occur sufficiently rarely to lead us to suppose that they were only sacrificed on the decease of some noble, whose renown or wealth procured this mark of distinction. The grave in question, indeed, would appear,

[a] Greg. Turon. Hist. l. ix. c. 28.

[b] Concil. Arelatense II. A.D. 452.

[c] Baluze, Capit. L. vii. 316.

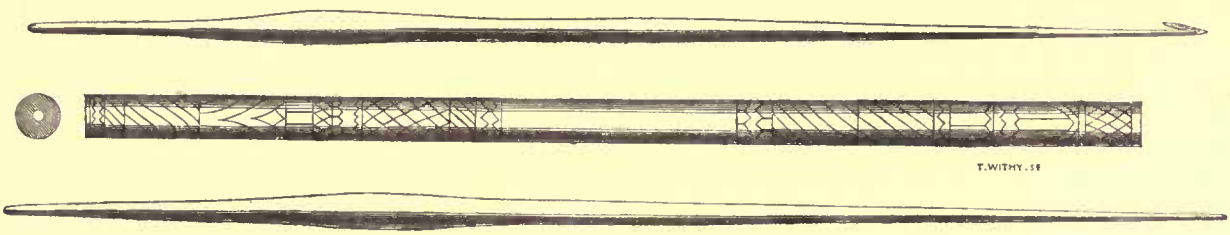
[d] Worsaae's Primeval Antiquities, p. 100—"König Ring liess den König Harold in einem grossen hügel beisetzen, das pferd tödten, auf dem er in Brävallaschlacht geritten hatte, und den *sattel* mit begraben, dass er nach Walhalla reiten konne."—Grimm, D. Myth, p. 796.

[e] De Mor. Germ. 27. This fact is remarkably exemplified in the interments of a Teutonic tribe which settled themselves on what is now the Würtemberg shore of the Lake of Constance. Their large tumuli are found to contain skeletons, buried in the plain earth after the manner of the Anglo-Saxons; long and broad iron swords, spear heads, iron finger-rings, umbones of shields in unusual number, spurs occasionally, and ordinarily bridle ornaments, with other parts of horse-trappings in bronze.

Compare also Marco Polo's account of Tartar usages, p. 127 (Bohn's edit.); Tooke's account of ancient Tartar burial-places, Archæologia, vol. vii. p. 224; Cochet's Normandie Souterraine, p. 375. For instances of the custom in England, see Journal of Arch. Inst. vol. vii. p. 36; and Archæologia, vol. xxxiii. p. 334. Lindenschmit's valuable work furnishes many instances of the occurrence of remains of horses, or their trappings, during sepulchral researches in Germany.—Germ. Todtenlager, p. 28.

from the whole of the equipments to have been that of a chieftain of the tribe.[a] The musical instrument tells us of the milder taste of this young warrior, who, perhaps, like another Sintram, could sound his lute in these wild scenes to softer themes than war and bloodshed. It is an early record of knighthood and minstrelsy.

For the first time in the annals of archæology have we had the early implements of the important operations of spinning and weaving presented to our inspection; yet such, as we have just heard, does Dr. Menzel conceive the remains from grave 27 and others to be. The weaving apparatus would seem to be about 16½ inches in length (Würtemberg measure). The distaff does not appear, but the so-designated spindle-pins are about twelve and thirteen inches long (E. m.)



SPINDLES, OR KNITTING PINS, AND CARVED REED, FROM GRAVE 29.

There are also the perforated rounds of stone which were probably affixed to the ends of the spindles, to cause them to revolve more rapidly by their weight, obedient to the twirl of the industrious housewife.[b]

This manual operation, so indispensable in early times, furnished the jurisprudence of Germany and England with a term to distinguish the female line, *fusus;* and a memento of its former importance still remains in the appellation of *spinster*. Alfred, in his will,[c] speaks of his male and female descendants by the

[a] "Horses ornamented on the cheek . . . on one of which stood a saddle variegated with work, and rich with treasure: that was the war-seat of a lofty king."—Kemble's Beowulf, l. 2066.

[b] "And turn the adamantine spindle round."
Milton's Arcades.

—— teretem versabat pollice fusum.
Ovid. Met. vi. 22.

[c] Codex Diplom. Ævi Saxon. vol. ii. p. 116.

"Hæreditas ad fusum a lancea transeat."
In lege Angliorum et Werinorum. Tit. vi. 8.

terms of the spear-side and spindle-side, with which the *gladius* and *fusus* of the Germans[a] are in remarkable apposition.

We notice here the bronze tweezers and the combs so generally found in all graves of the class, and which give us the idea of great personal cleanliness as among the virtues of these people. The peculiarity in the comb from grave 3 consists in its ornamental case. Among the articles of dress are some iron buckles, probably once plated, set with coloured glass, which resemble those found in the Frankish cemetery of Envermeu by the Abbé Cochet. The most beautiful of the fibulæ is that from grave 30, gilt on the face, and silvered on the back, which exhibits a greatly advanced state of art and taste in its workmanship. The raised twisted thread, winding among the red glass ornamentations, possesses no inconsiderable degree of elegance. To the figure of the cross upon it we can attach no importance. It may have been adopted as a mere ornamental device, as often seems to have been done elsewhere; or the fibula may originally have been in Christian hands. These graves of Oberflacht are unmistakeably of the Heathen period. The buckle from grave 35, of a somewhat unusual form, closely resembles one found at Sittingbourne, Kent.[b]

Another ornamental appendage from Oberflacht is the suspensory bronze rod of the purse or pouch worn at the girdle. The re-curved ends are fashioned in the forms of birds' or serpents' heads. This object varies little from those worn at a far later period. The buckle, by which it was once attached to the girdle, is still fixed on it.

The use of beads, inlaid with various coloured substances, for the purpose of ornament, seems to have been common to all the Northern nations. Among these found at Oberflacht are some plain red ones of remarkable brilliancy of colour, and in such perfect preservation, that it would be desirable to ascertain by chemical analysis what so enduring element has been employed in their construction. I have observed these beads in other Alemannic graves, but in no others. The beautiful crystal bead, spirally striated, may possibly be a reminiscence of Roman times. The inlaid ornamentation of beads is often so pleasing and artistic, both in colour and design,[c] that it is manifest the Teuton ladies exercised the taste natural to their sex in the selection of such embellishments of their toilettes. Hence it may be inferred that the rude unseemly pieces of pierced amber found here, as in all such graves, were worn, not as decorations of the person, but in a

[a] Speculum Saxonicum, lib. iii. art. 15, sec. 3.

[b] Collectanea Antiqua, vol. i. pl. xxxvi. fig. 6.

[c] Pagan Saxondom, pl. xii. and xxi. Saxon Obsequies, pl. xviii. to xxi.

superstitious faith in some in-dwelling amuletic virtue.[a] We have no positive information on this point; but, among the many remains of heathen superstitions enumerated by Saint Eloy early in the seventh century, is the use of amber necklaces by the women. It must be remarked too that Saint Eloy, in his celebrated homily, not merely forbids this practice, but classes it with the invocation of Minerva and other heathen deities (*infaustas personas*) during the operations of weaving, &c.[b] We shall therefore perhaps not greatly err in supposing these strings of amber beads to be included among those amuletic devices termed *ligaturæ*, which we find prohibited by the early Councils of France and Germany.[c]

Beowulf furnishes us with an apt illustration of the early Teuton belief in amulets. "About the crest of the helm, the defence of the head, it held an amulet fastened without with wires, that the sword, hardened with scouring, might not violently injure him when the shield-bearing warrior should go against his foes." In supposing this amulet to have been a bead of some description, we are borne out by a handsome fibula in the Wiesbaden Museum, to which a ball of dusky quartz crystal is attached by wire loops. This fancy was handed down to later times, when it obtained the name of *blut-stein*, and was supposed to prevent effusion of blood. The Kormak Saga also speaks of the amuletic life-stone. The amethystine bead from grave 25 not unfrequently occurs in England, chiefly in Kent.[d]

A number of fire-flints were found in these graves, as might have been expected. This symbolic representation of the power of light over darkness, immediately derived from the worship of Thor and Odin, is an essential superstition of Northern heathenism. With the abstract belief in the protection from evil spirits,[e] rendered by the fiery element, was probably mingled the grosser fancy of the need of light amidst the legendary gloom of the northern Hades.[f] Still the traditions quoted by Grimm,[g] of the efficacy of the hearth-fire in preserving the house from lightning,—and again, that "the hearth-fire must be kept burning till the new-born child is baptized," would tell us of a faith in the preservative sanctity of fire, which, perhaps, had its origin in a far distant Eastern land. We find flints and

[a] Fairford Graves, p. 33.

[b] Vita S. Eligii, l. ii. c. 15.

[c] "Dicunt quoque se vidisse ibi mulieres pagano ritu phylacteria et ligaturas et in brachiis et cruribus ligatas habere." Epistle from St. Boniface to Pope Zachariah.

[d] Pagan Saxondom, pl. v. Collect. Antiqua, vol. i. p. 105.

[e] Saxo, viii. 165. "Um einen spukenden zu vertreiben muss man mit stahl und stein funken schlagen." Märk. Sagen. s. 385.

[f] Scheffer's Lapponia, c. xxvii. Mallet's Northern Antiquities, c. x.

[g] Deut. Myth. p. 568.

steel in the graves of the various Northern tribes, from Lapland to our own country,[a] and I almost doubt any heathen Teutonic cemetery being without them. Our attention, however, has only lately been called to this point by Mr. Akerman, in his recent researches at Harnham;[b] but we may, henceforth, expect to hear of the more frequent observation of these symbolic relics.

The slag-ashes from grave 19 are curious. These repeatedly occurred in the Fairford graves, but I do not remember to have heard of their presence elsewhere. It is difficult to understand their import, unless, indeed, there was the same amuletic belief in the products of the furnace that there seems to have been in those of the smithy.[c]

The whetstone, grave 15, also occurs in Saxon interments. The small dark grey stone, from grave 33, would seem to have been a delicate celt, or chisel, of the Celtic period. The great amount of animal and vegetable remains found in the funeral vessels demonstrates beyond all doubt the prevalence of these "sacrificia mortuorum," which the clergy found so difficult to eradicate, during the long period of transition from Heathenism to Christianity. We, accordingly, see this heathen practice repeatedly referred to and forbidden[d] in the Councils; in the Sermons of St. Eloy;[e] in the Indiculus Paganiarum et Superstitionum; in the Homilies and Epistles of St. Boniface;[f] and, later still, in the Capitularies of Charlemagne himself. We may infer, from the affection of a portion of our own population, at the present day, for the feasting and revel of a "lyke-wake,"[g] that this sensual grossness must have increased the difficulty of repressing these *spurcitiæ*, as the Church termed them. But the heathenism of the Teutons and their Roman predecessors, though widely differing in many respects, concurred in the super-

[a] Todtenlager bei Selzen; Sepultures à Remennecourt, in the 3rd. vol. of Mémoires de la Société Philomathique de Verdun: Mémoires of the Luxembourg Society, vol. vii.; Cochet's Normandie Souterraine, p. 258.

[b] Archæologia, vol. XXXV. p. 259.

[c] W. Müller, Geschichte, p. 243.

[d] Sunt etiam qui in festivitate cathedræ domini Petri Apostoli cibos mortuis offerunt, et, post missas, redeuntes ad domos proprios, ad gentilitium revertuntur errores, et post Corpus Domini, sacratas dæmoni escas accipiunt." Second Council of Tours, Can. 22, A.D. 567.

[e] Vita S. Eligii, lib. ii. c. 15, in D'Achery's Spicilegium.

[f] Ep. S. Bonifac. 44 and 84. Also Serm. vi. de peccatis mortalibus. Third Conc. Germ. (742). Conc. Leptin. and Indiculus, Can. 1 and 2.—From a passage in a letter from the Pope Zachariah to St. Boniface, it would seem that some of the ignorant German clergy had encouraged the error among the Thuringians. Burchard, Decret. x. 38. "Non licet Christianis prandia ad defunctorums epulchra deferre, et sacrificare mortuis." Capitul. vi. c. 197. Compare Joh. Beleth. c. lxxxiii. and Durandus, Rat. l. vii. c. 8.

[g] "Thou needest care no further than this about my corpse-feast." Beowulf, l. 895. In Gisla Sursonnar Saga, we read that Vestein's lyke-wake lasted for several days.

stition of propitiating the manes of the dead by material offerings.[a] The inveterate evil, therefore, which the clergy found it not possible to abolish, they attempted to divert. Hence pious vessels of holy water, and embers on which incense was burnt to scare away the evil spirit, began to take the place of these profane meat and drink offerings; and, in France at least, the custom, thus originated, is found to have existed as late as the sixteenth century.[b]

There is but little to be said of the pottery, which consists of two kinds: the one, a hard kind of grey stone ware; the other, the usual soft earthen manufacture, coloured with plumbago, which we so generally meet with in all these interments. The usual angular form of the Frankish pottery is altogether absent in these vessels, which adhere to the bowl and jar forms. As at Selzen, and in our own Saxon graves, some of these vessels are furnished with handles,[c] but the whole number of interments only render seven examples of pottery, which apparently was little used, except in actual culinary operations at the fire. The vessels in more common use are of wood, and we find them in great profusion, and of every size. They are all the manufacture of the turner, and consequently the forms are those of bowls, basins, saucers, or pateræ.

The wooden bottles with handles seem to be of the most curious description. The same form will occasionally be found in mediæval pottery.

The only glass vessel found is of a very remarkable character. In form it closely assimilates with some found in Kent;[d] also in Cambridgeshire, by the Hon. R. C. Neville; and at Envermeu by the Abbé Cochet.[e] A very perfect example may also be seen in the museum at Rheims. Most of these are of a white glass, coated with some reddish-brown stain, the residuum of wine or blood, but this of Oberflacht is of a pale green colour, and is very full of air-bubbles. It bears a white undulating pattern, strongly burnt in, after the manner occasionally seen in Roman glass (Pl. XIV. fig. 1).

The graves present us with an interesting summary of the fruits which flourished in the valley at this early period. The peach was no doubt a rarity, for we find the solitary peach-stone fitted with a shank, and worn with beads on a necklace.

[a] Scheffer's Lapponia, c. xxvii. p. 317.

[b] Cochet's Normandie Souterraine, p. 413. Durandus, Rat. l. vii. c. 35. Notices sur les Tombes Gallo-Frankes, in vol. vii. of Mémoires of Luxembourg Arch. Society.

[c] Collectanea Antiqua, vol. ii. pl. lii.

[d] Nenia Britannica; Pagan Saxondom, pl. xvii.

[e] Normandie Souterraine, pl. x. fig. 3, p. 328. The Abbé cites other examples found in various parts of France.

The number of the hazel-nuts, and their repetition in the Selzen and other graves,[a] would indicate this fruit was a favourite offering in such "sacrificia mortuorum."

We come now to perhaps the most singular relics of these graves, the wooden symbols, which Dr. Menzel considers as representing the mythological *todtenschuh*, or death-shoe of the ancient funeral rites.

The old Northern mythology supposed departed souls had to encounter great difficulties and inconveniences in their way to the spirit-land. In fact they had to pass through just such an uncomfortable Valley of the Shadow of Death as John Bunyan alone could depict. It was befitting therefore to furnish shoes for so disagreeable a journey.[b] Such shoes were termed in Germany *todtenschuhe*, or dead men's shoes; in Scandinavia *helske*, or shoes for Hela, *i. e.* Hell, or Hades. A very positive account of this singular custom exists in the Gisla Sursonnar Saga,[c] and runs thus; On Vestein's death by the hand of Thorgrim, as they were preparing the body for burial, Thorgrim drew near and said, "It is the custom to furnish men with death-shoes to tread their path to Valhalla—this office I will render to Vestein." This done, he added, "I know not how to bind on the death-shoe if these come undone."

We have also another illustration of the custom in Aubrey's Old Yorkshire Lyke-wake Dirge—

"This ean night, this ean night,
Every night and awle,
Fire and flete, and candle-light,
And Christ receive thy sawle.

"When thou from hence doest pass away,
Every night and awle,
To Whinny-moor thou comest at last,
And Christ receive thy sawle.

"If ever thou gavest hosen or shoon,
Every night and awle,
Sitt thee downe, and putt them on,
And Christ receive thy sawle.

"But if hosen nor shoon thou never gave nean,
Every night and awle,
The whinnes shall pricke thee to the bare beane,
And Christ receive thy sawle."

MS. Lansdowne, 234, p. 114.

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[a] Germ. Todtenlager, p. 28. [b] Grimm, Deut. Myth. p. 795; W. Müller's Geschichte, p. 408.
[c] Keysler, Antiq. Sept. p. 170; Müller's Sagabibliothek.

There is another variation of this ancient dirge in Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.[a] We can hardly doubt it to have been a remnant of the *todtenschuh* superstition, introduced into Yorkshire by the Saxons or Danes. The clergy would readily dove-tail it with the doctrine of alms-giving and purgatory, just as we see so many other practices of heathenism sanctified to the uses of the Church.

Close inquiry, however, may be disposed to question whether these mysterious wooden forms in the sepulchres of Oberflacht really ever were designed to shadow forth the *todtenschuh* of old superstitions; and whether they may not have had another and not less remarkable import. Dr. Menzel is inclined to consider that the representation of a shoe, or of the bare human foot, may alike have been an acknowledgment or offering to Hela. May it not, however, be reasonably urged that the positive account just quoted from Gisla Sursonnar Saga represents a *real* shoe, sandal, or slipper, and that too placed on the foot, as employed in the Scandinavian funeral rites? We have seen that such sandals did exist on the feet of the skeletons at Oberflacht (Pl. XIII., fig. 4), and these more probably represent the last fond office of duty or affection than do the supposed enigmatical symbols of wood. That the *todtenschuh* rite long existed, and that its remembrance is not yet obliterated in some parts of Germany, we have the authority of Dr. Grimm.[b] It also seems to have been known to the Romans. In a perfectly preserved Roman tomb of the cremation period, discovered at Avisford, Sussex, in 1817, a pair of sandals, studded with hexagonal brass nails, were found, with a number of other objects.[c]

The Abbé Cochet has also met with sandals in Gallo-Roman tombs.[d]

It must also be observed that the custom of interring the dead with sandals or shoes seems long to have remained extant. From the remarkable allusion to it by

[a] In the notes, Scott, on the authority of Ritson, gives the following illustrative citation from a MS. in the Cotton Library, which unfortunately we cannot trace. The reference given by Scott is incorrect;—

"When any dieth, certaine women sing a song to the dead bodie, recyting the journey that the partye deceased must goe; and they are of beliefe (such is their fondnesse) that once in their lives it is good to give a pair of new shoes to a poor man, for as much as, after this life, they are to pass barefoote through a great launde full of thornes and furzen, except, by the meryte of the almes aforesaid, they have redemed the forfeyte; for, at the edge of the launde, an old man shall meet them with the same shoes that were given by the partie when he was lyving; and after he hath shodde them, dismisseth them to go through thick and thin without scratch or scalle."

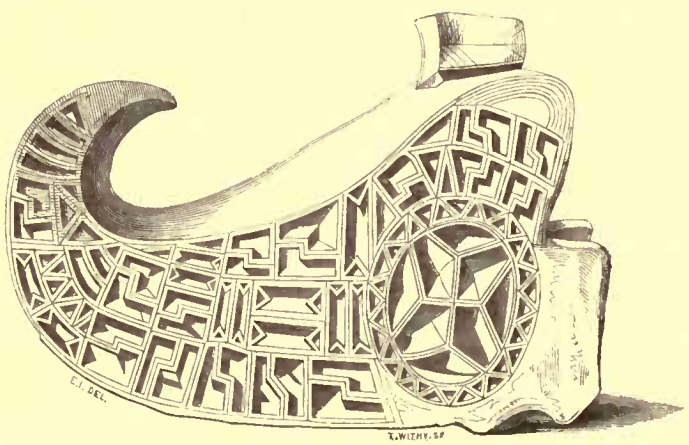
[b] Deut. Mythol. p. 795.

[c] Collect. Ant. vol. i. pl. xliv. p. 123.

[d] Normandie Souterraine, pp. 49 and 63.

the old liturgist John Beleth, in the twelfth century,[a] and again by Durandus,[b] bishop of Mende, we are led to think the *todtenschuh* rite was added to the Christian Officia by sanction of the Church, in common with many other deeply rooted heathen customs. Without multiplying instances, it may suffice to refer to the *chaussure* of Bernard king of Italy and grandson of Charlemagne, found on the opening of his tomb at Milan, A.D. 1638.[c] Bernard died A.D. 818, probably the approximate date of the Oberflacht interments. It will be remembered that sandals were found on the lately discovered remains of bishop Lyndewode, which carries evidence of the continuance of the custom down to the middle of the fifteenth century.[d]

It seems difficult, therefore, without much more conclusive authority, to ascribe these wooden forms of feet to such a symbolical purpose. The pair from grave 5, so singularly carved, alone possesses any similitude to the fore part of a foot invested with a shoe; and even these were placed by the head, not feet, of the skeleton. Both sides of the object are carved, and the design is slightly diversified. It will be noticed that these forms are evidently parts of some other object.



CARVING IN WOOD, FROM GRAVE 5.

[a] Div. Off. Explicatio, c. clix. "Habeant et soleas in pedibus, quo significent ita se paratos esse ad judicium."

[b] Rationale, lib. vii. c. 35.

Superstites adhuc e corio rubeo calcei utrumque pedem contegebant; iidemque ligneam quisque soleam, hinc inde coriaceis insutam habebant." Puricelli, Monum. Basil. Ambros.

[d] Archæologia, XXXIV. p. 403.

It may perhaps be suggested with greater reason that these forms serve to elucidate a very obscure article in the Indiculus Paganiarum et Superstitionum, entitled, "De ligneis pedibus et manibus, pagano ritu." This article has been thought to refer to the *ex voto* offerings at heathen shrines by persons whose hands or feet had suffered from some accident or malady—just as we see done at the shrines of favourite saints in Roman Catholic[a] countries. But had this been altogether so, the Indiculus would never have confined its prohibition to forms of *hands and feet* merely, of all the many parts of the human frame. Gregory of Tours indeed gives an example of such a heathen shrine at Cologne,[b] but we may infer from his words that these offerings of carved wood were of a somewhat varied nature—"membra secundum quod unumquemque dolor adtigisset, sculpebat in ligno." The superstition must have had another application. In fact more than a century prior to the Indiculus, St. Eloy had found occasion to rebuke these offerings of wooden feet, for he only mentions *feet*, the manufacture of which he forbids, and further directs to be burnt whenever found. From this passage in his celebrated charge[c] we learn the custom was to place these wooden forms, not in heathen temples, but at the junction of the cross-roads. What may have been the precise import of such a superstition we do not gather; as such spots were sacred to Diana Trivia, it was possibly a vestige of some idolatrous rite, there performed in her honour, and with this the wooden feet from Oberflacht would seem more in relation than with the *todtenschuh*.

It would be presumptuous to speak otherwise than with great caution on so obscure a subject. Such a discovery has probably never before been made, or is likely ever to be made again. Yet in archæology, as in other sciences, it is only by the recurrence of facts, under similar conditions, that we can hope to establish sound inductions. I have only suggested such explanation of the forms in question as seemed most consistent with probability and historical record. It may be that such wooden forms not unfrequently formed part of Teutonic funeral rites, together with other perishable objects. It is indeed rare to meet with vestiges of wood in heathen graves.

As to the wooden relics found in grave 8 (Pl. XIII. fig. 2), it may be doubted

[a] In the cathedral of Aachen, for instance. Samuel i. c. vi. 5.

[b] De Vita Patrum, c. vi.

[c] "Pedum similitudines quas per bivia ponunt fieri vetate, et ubi inveneritis, igne cremate." Vita S. Eligii, l. ii. c. xv. The temples, or rather altars, of the heathen Teutons were mostly at the junction of cross-roads. Hence the place of execution was there, criminals being sacrificed to the gods; hence, too, suicides were buried at the cross-roads to give as strong an impression as possible of a heathen burial.

whether they were designed to represent *hands*. If indeed such were the case, it would greatly strengthen the foregoing hypothesis, for it might be assumed to be a still further illustration of the article *De ligneis pedibus et manibus*. They are, however, merely flat pieces of very thin wood, which could scarcely have been considered representations of the human hand by the skilful carvers of the other relics. They may have been the implements of some domestic manufacture.

In conclusion, I am glad to be able to add the following extracts from a letter just received from Captain von Dürrich, in reply to further inquiries, and accompanied by the drawings now exhibited :—

"When my occupations first led me into this country, I discovered the graves during the erection of a cross. In digging the hole for this a piece of black oak was thrown out. This led me to inquiry, and, from what I learnt in Oberflacht, I soon ascertained the fact of the interments. I see but little to add to the very accurate account given by Dr. Menzel. However, the accompanying drawings, which the artist of the Würtemberg Antiquarian Society has accurately taken and coloured from my original sketches, will certainly supply any possible hiatus in the narrative.

"Plate XI. The Todten-bettstatt was constructed of wood of the wild pear; the inclosure and cover are of oak.

"Plate XII. fig. 2. The coffin, with the inclosure, is of oak; the serpents' heads and horns are of a white wood. The shield, still partly covered with leather, is of linden wood. This coffin was hermetically sealed, as it were, in the stiff lias clay, and filled with water; on the surface of this a fatty mass of the corpse was floating, which diffused a strong stench.[a] Fig. 3. The coffin and partitioned chamber of wild pear-tree wood soon went to pieces; but the oaken inclosure is well preserved.

"Plate XIII. The well-preserved bow is six feet long, and of yew (*taxus baccata*).

"Plate XIV. The very thin drinking-glass is of a pale green colour. In some of the empty settings of the handsome fibula may still be seen fragments of a brownish yellow colour, probably the remains of precious stones. The iron buckle is almost entirely rusted away, but the thinly beaten silver plating can still be distinctly made out.

"The very ornamental latten plate is certainly a fragment of a woman's girdle. I have often met with similar fragments."

[a] One would not expect that corruption should still be at work after the lapse of a thousand years; but the Abbé Cochet observes of graves (p. 226, Nor. Souterraine), "J'en ai même rencontré qui exhalait une forte odeur." The same circumstance was noticed on opening some of the graves at Fairford.

The latten plate here alluded to by Captain von Dürrich was found in one of the interments originally broken up by the brickmaker in his early excavations, together with various other objects which got scattered over the place, and were for the most part lost.

Such are the Alemannic graves of Oberflacht.

We are deeply indebted to Captain von Dürrich, both for rendering the discovery so available and useful, and also for his further assistance and information on the occasion of this present notice. It is only by attentive examination of these archæological discoveries in continental Europe that we can hope to thoroughly study the history of the great migration of the Teutonic nations; and a closer correspondence with foreign societies would most certainly be attended with mutual advantage.

W. M. WYLIE.

United University Club,
Feb. 17, 1855.

ABSTRACT OF ARTICLES FOUND AT OBERFLACHT, AND TAKEN AWAY.

	Graves.
I.	
Todtenbäume.	
1. Mr. Baader's	1
2. Mr. Hartmann's	2
3. The coffin on which the snakes' heads still retain their fangs and horns	7
4. Coffin from	28
5. The planed or smoothed coffin of a female	14
6. Remains of a bronze decoration were in this one.	
II.—WEAPONS.	
Swords.	
In graves	2, 7, 28, 31, 34, 38
Knives.	
A large knife in a superb broad gilt sheath	31
A similar one, much oxydised, in	18
Two smaller, still sharp, in	7
Another in	31
Another, with a whet-stone, in	15
Another.	
Spear-heads.	
A very handsome one in	7
A similar one with gilt nails	28
One much oxydised in	31
Bows.	
In graves	1, 2, 15, 34, 10
Remains of bows in	8, 9, 11
Arrows.	
Only three entire from	10
Fragments.	
Shield.	
A fragment in	28

	Graves.
Wands.	
In	2, 5, 10, 24, 39

III.—Vessels.

Hard Stoneware.	
Large round jar of grey stoneware .	9
Jug with spout	11
Pot with remains of meats . . .	38
Broken bowl in	8
Soft Pottery, coloured black.	
Small vessel in	16
Small vessels with glazed ornamentation	26
Large vessel full of hazel-nuts . .	28
Glass.	
Handsome drinking cup . . .	40
Wood.	
Large platters in graves	5, 6, 8, 17. 24, 26, 31, 34
(besides many broken ones not counted)	
Small bowls in graves .	7, 8, 17, 28
(besides many broken)	
Bellying-out bowl, in	29
Bellying-out small jug	34
Tub	35
Barrel	17
Bottles of usual form in .	5, 8, 24, 40
One of peculiarly thick form in . .	28
Pails in	26, 12, 34

IV.—Utensils.

Bronze.	
Beautiful ornamentation of horse-bit, and remains of girth-trappings . . .	31
Curious plate, damaged . . .	40
Curious bronze rod with snakes' heads .	7
Two pairs of tweezers . . .	7, 8
Stylus	7
Small fragment of bronze . . .	

	Graves.
Iron.	
Horse-bit	31
Ornamental rosettes inlaid with silver wire	,,
Key	15
Wood.	
Musical instrument	31
Weaving implements, 13 pieces . .	27
Two small implements of female work	14, 15
A spindle-twirl	29
Candlesticks.	
In graves	9, 24, 31
The child's wooden stool . . .	16
Fragment of saddle	31
Stone.	
A number of flints from graves	7, 31, 35, 36, 40
A whetstone	15
A stone spindle-twirl	38

V.—Symbolic Objects.

The wooden *todtenschuhe* in . .	5, 31, 40
The wooden hands in	8
Mystic tablet of wood	27
Very small stone with sharpened edge, of the form of a small axe or chisel. Similar stones, but generally larger, have often been found in other graves	33
A wooden tablet bearing devices . .	31

VI.—Articles of Clothing.

Leather.	
Strongly plaited glove	47
Sandals in	2, 20, 39
Very many fragments.	
Woven Stuffs.	
A small piece of fine silk riband . .	14
Fragments of figured cloth . .	4, 5
Ditto of coarse cloth plain . . .	7

Graves.

VII.—Ornaments.

Bronze Rings.

A large hollow one 32
Arm-ring 3
Small finger rings in . . 16, 29, 33

Bronze Buckles.

In graves 24, 28, 30, 33
Iron ditto inlaid with dark red glass . 3
Same 7

Bronze Fibulæ.

Superb one 30
Another handsome one . . . .
Two smaller. 29

Horn Combs.

A woman's comb 3
Man's ditto 38

Precious Stones.

An amethyst on a necklace, of the form and size of an almond . . . 25
Amber, 38 pieces on three necklaces 22, 25, 29

Beads.

166 in all, of pure white glass, coloured opaque glass, clay and porcelain, various coloured glass with patterns. Among these is a white glass ball, of the size of a walnut, with spiral-formed lines. . . . . .
A yellowish-green bead, shaped like a twirl, skilfully smelted from many small ones . . . . . .
Two large cylinder-formed beads with variegated pattern 30

Graves.

Seven large beads with variegated eyes, stars, spiral lines, &c. . . . 16
The rest are cylinder-shaped, egg-shaped, striated, pearl-shaped, &c. in graves 19, 20, 22, 25, 29, 32

VIII.—Organic Remains.

Human Beings.

Three male skeletons found in . 2, 7, 28
That in grave 2 having the skull split.
A female skeleton in 29
Woman's hair, red 20
Man's hair, black 28

Brutes.

Horse-hair in 29
Hog's bristles 40
Bones of animals in several of the pots with food.

Plants.

Moss, a whole basketfull, from . . 20
Straw and leaves in almost every coffin.
Hazel rods in several coffins.
Hazel nuts, 307, in graves 2, 5, 28, 31, 40
5 walnuts in 2, 15, 29
Plumstone in 29
Peachstone in 22
Two gourds in 2, 5
Pears, seven large ones in . . . 14
Several smaller in 32
Besides these, many pear-stalks were scattered in several graves.
Cherrystones, 92 were found in . 11, 29 and several single ones in other coffins.
Spoon meats in most of the vessels; the material cannot be ascertained.

Explanatory Reference to the Plates.

Plate XI.

	Graves.
Illustrates the interment in grave	5

Plate XII.

Figs. 1 and 2 illustrate interment in	28
Fig. 3, ditto	40

Plate XIII.

Fig. 1. Horn comb from	3
„ 2. Wooden objects, termed hands	8
„ 3. Wooden candlestick	24
„ 4. Sandal, represented open and closed, from	2
Fig. 5. Bow from	1
„ 6. Illustrates interment in grave	9

Plate XIV.

Fig. 1. Glass from grave	40
„ 2 and 3. Front and side view of wooden bottle from	5
„ 4 and 7. Fibula from	30
„ 5 and 8. Fibula from	29
„ 6 Fibula.	
„ 9. Fibula from	3

Fig. 1.

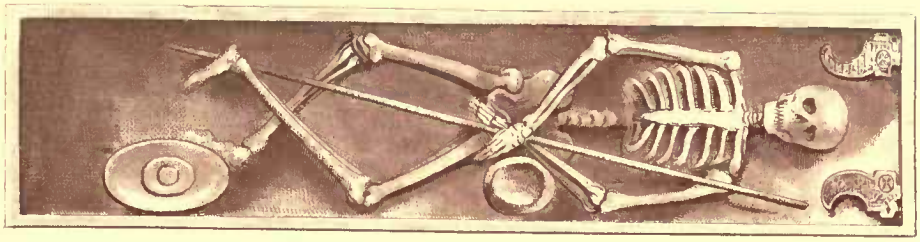


Fig. 2.

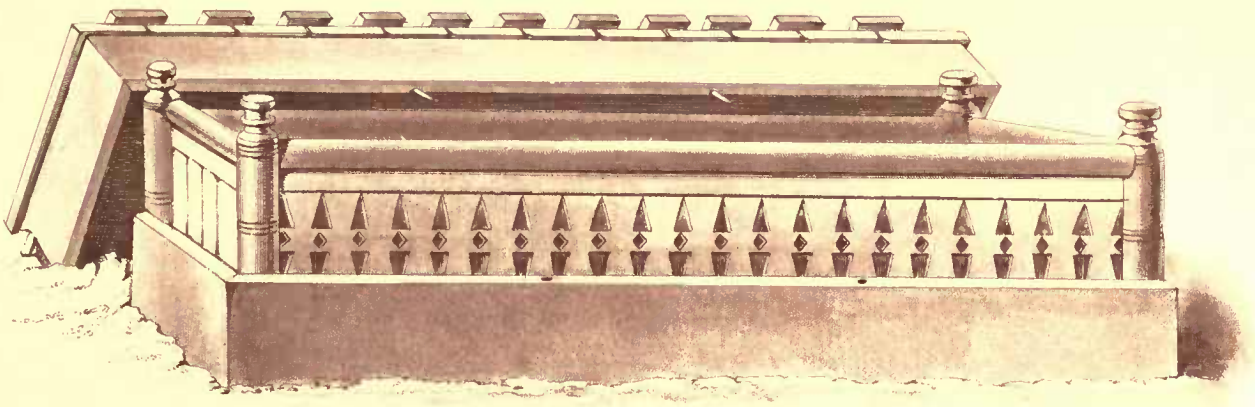
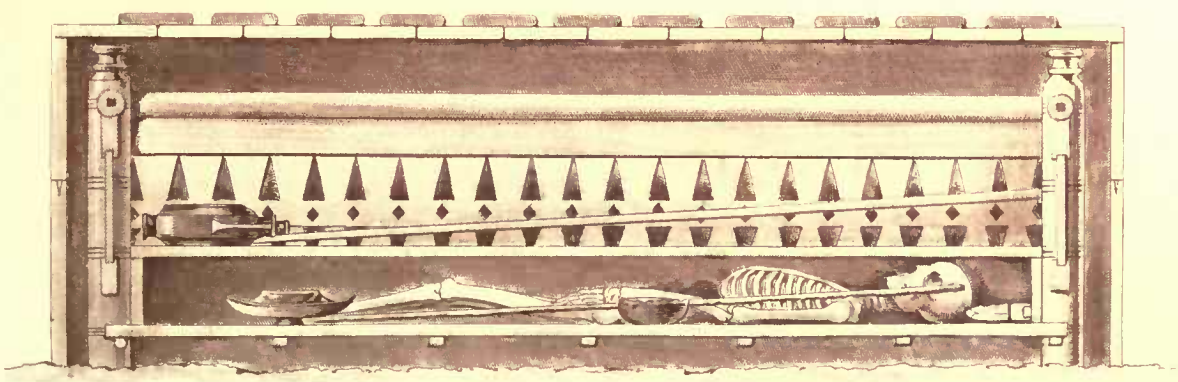


Fig. 3.



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G. Eberlein. del.t
from Sketches by Capte von Dürrich.

J. Basire so.

INTERMENTS OF THE ALEMANNI AT OBERFLACHT.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1856.

Fig. 1.

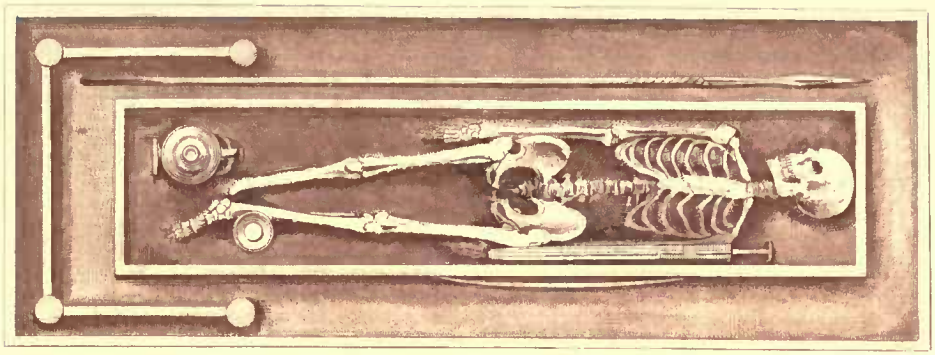


Fig. 2.

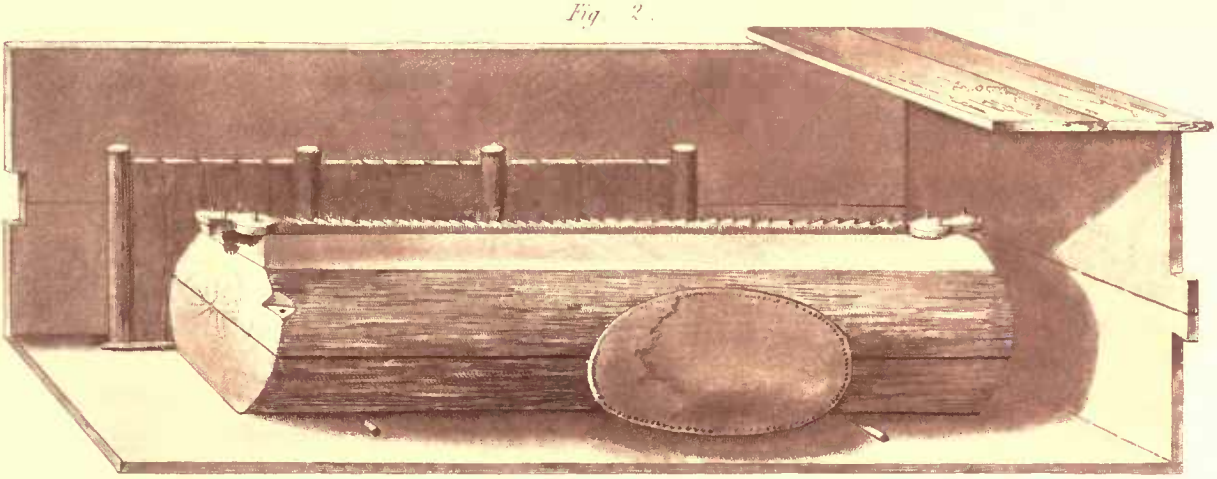
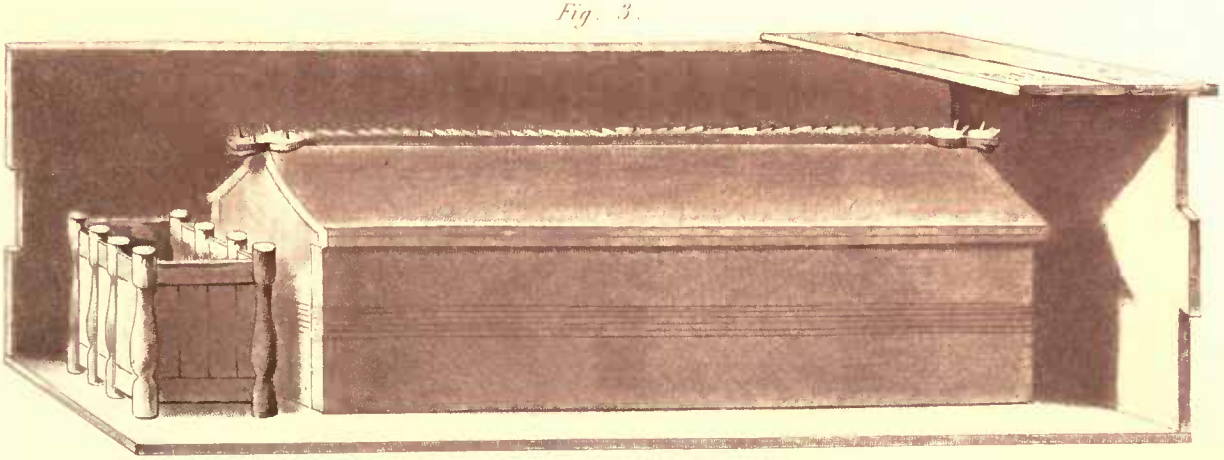


Fig. 3.



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J. Basire, sc.

INTERMENTS OF THE ALEMANNI AT OBERFLACHT.

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Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

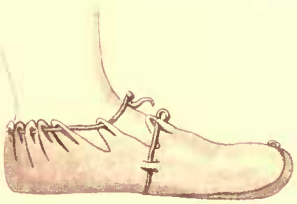


Fig. 4

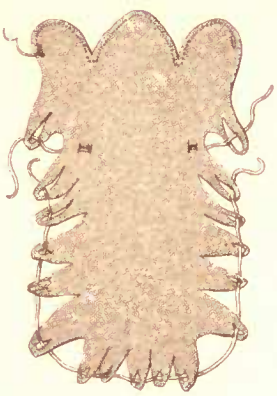
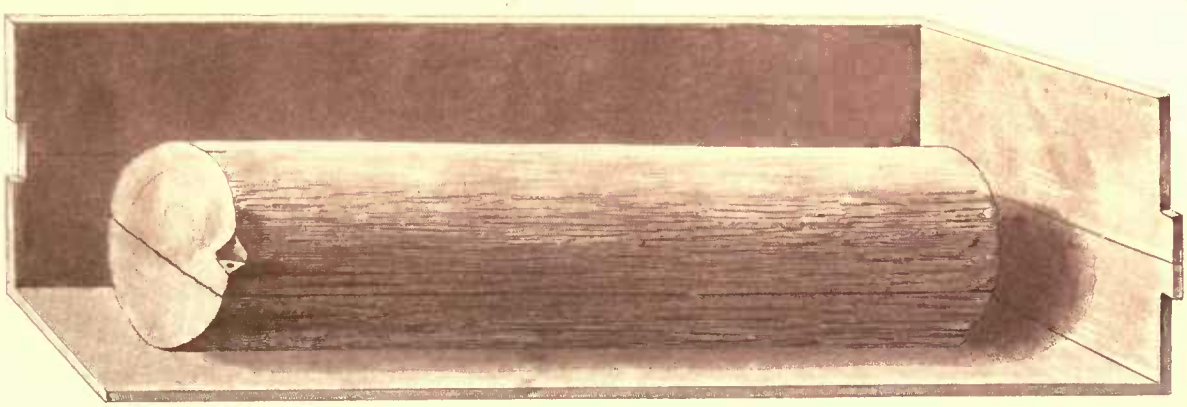


Fig. 5.

Fig. 6



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from sketches by Capt.n von Diarich

J. Basire sc.

OBJECTS FOUND IN THE GRAVES.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1855.

Fig. 1.

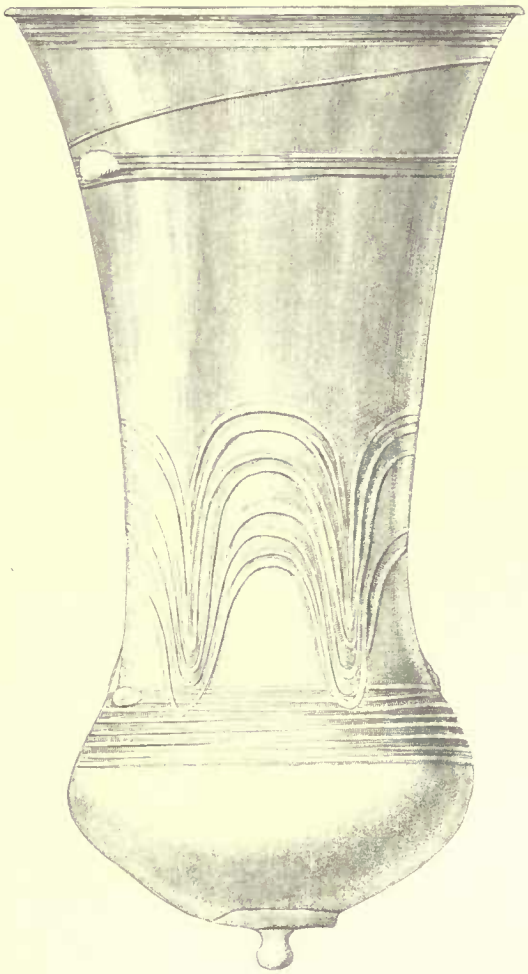


Fig. 2.

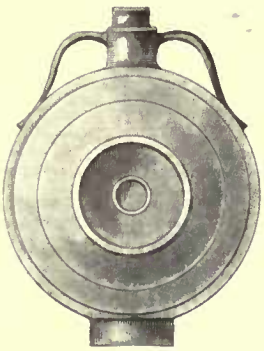


Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

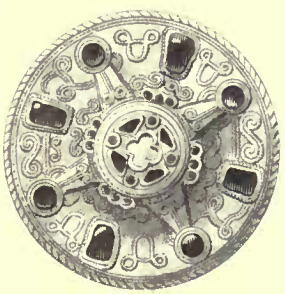


Fig. 6.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 7.

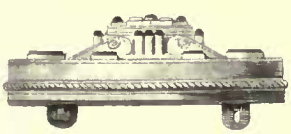
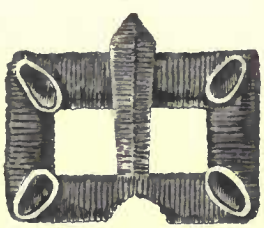


Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.



E. Eberlein, del.t
from sketches by Capt.n von Dürrich.

J. Basire.

OBJECTS FOUND IN THE GRAVES.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1855.

XVI. *Account of the Unrolling of a Mummy at Florence, belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, by Professor Migliarini. Translated from the Italian MS. of Professor Migliarini, by* C. H. Cottrell, *Esq. M.A.: with some Notes and Observations, by* S. Birch, *Esq. F.S.A.*

Read January 11, 1855.

In the month of September, 1827, the late Professor Rosellini, and the present highly talented director of the Belle Arti in the Uffizi at Florence, Professor Migliarini, were commanded by the Grand Duke of Tuscany to unroll a mummy which had been in the collection of the "Gabinetto di Fisica e Storia Naturale" since the year 1824. This was done in the presence of a large number of spectators, and a very detailed account drawn up of it and drawings made on a large scale by Prof. Migliarini for His Royal Highness. As no notice of this interesting operation has been given to the world, the following details, taken from Prof. Migliarini's private notes, may not be unacceptable, in order that the peculiarities here exhibited may be compared with those observed in other mummies already unwrapped, or which may be hereafter brought to light.

The person embalmed was a female, and her name was Takarheb, or Karheb,[1] daughter of a royal scribe and priest named Naantev,[2] and of a lady Nevt'hei,[3] which occurred thus on the coffin, Pl. XV. fig. A.

OSIRI	TAI	KARHIB	MAoUTAoU	SI
Osirified	the	Karhib	justified	daughter
eN	SOUTeN	SK'HAI	HoN	NAaaNTW
of	the royal	scribe	prophet[4]	Naantev [very glorious]
MAoU TAoU	MeS	eN	NeVHi	NeVT'HEI
justified	born	of	the lady	Nevt'hei
SHIME	MAoU TAoU			
lady	justified			

When stripped of the wrappings in which the body was enveloped, and of the bust with its gilt face, the mummy was found to be entirely covered with a wrapper stretched longitudinally, fastened up behind, and uncoloured. The exhalations, however, from the inside had given it a dark brownish tint, and

[1] [2] [3] [4] The notes will be found at the close of the memoir.

deepened the usual yellow colour always given to the cloth, of which the wrappers attached to mummies of this description are composed, and which is intended to imitate byssus.

This wrapper having been removed without much difficulty, it appeared that the body after it was enveloped had been covered with a crust laid all over it, seemingly with a brush, for the sake of preserving it. This stratum we will call the First Cement. It was probably a sort of encaustic, inasmuch as lime mixed with a small quantity of chloride and a little wax, when burnt, produces a paste of this kind, which is an excellent preservative against decomposition. This reminds us of the etymology of the word Mummy, supposed to come from Mum, which signifies *wax* in Persian, and is alluded to in a passage of Cicero.[a] If it should be argued that this is not the general or universal sense, it may still be true as regards the class of mummies known and described in his time. This crust, which was of a glassy texture, and easily broken with the fingers, was stripped off bit by bit, and then the wrappers upon which it was laid.

After this operation was concluded, the body underneath presented a totally different appearance. It looked in some places like those little figures of mummies, so frequently met with, composed of various materials, but generally of enamelled earth, with the arms crossed upon the breast, and the lower part down to the feet covered all over with inscriptions.

The bandages which enveloped the body underneath the arms were inscribed with *hieratic* characters. Great care was requisite to remove these in regular order as much as possible, they having burst in many places, and being burnt as it were by contact with another cement which was laid on underneath, and had made its way through to the upper side.

They were eight in number, and composed of cloth dyed to imitate the colour of byssus, and marked throughout on both sides, that is, on the right and left, with hieratic numerals (Plate XV. fig. B). On the right side, at a short distance from these, commenced the usual sentences copied from the great Formulary, and similar to those used on some of the papyri. This sort of inscribed bandages was first noticed on the mummy of Count Caylus, and subsequently on that of a child of six years old, in the possession of Mr. John Symmons, unwrapped in London March 29, 1788, in the presence of many learned persons.

In removing these and the other bandages, which had no inscriptions, there was found attached to the left loin a so-called *Nilometer* of enamelled light blue earth.

[a] In Tusc. Quest. § xlv.

Although this emblem of *stability* is frequently met with, painted on the shoulders of mummies,[5] it seems more probable that it had found its way there during the process of wrapping from some other place where it had been laid, or that these little figures were thrown in promiscuously from time to time while they were enveloping the mummy. All the clothes which belonged to this structure having been carefully taken off, the mummy appeared like the figure of Osiris.

A wrapper larger than the body, stretched over the whole of it, on which a figure of Osiris in outline was drawn, was fitted to the body with such exactitude that the face of the figure corresponded to that of the deceased, and its hands, in which were the sceptre and whip, to the hands of the deceased, and so of all the rest. As the tall cap, with the two high feathers, would have reached considerably above the head of the mummy, it was folded over behind and hung down the back, where also the cloth itself was fastened. This representation of the transformation of the deceased into Osiris, agrees with the first title of all the funeral inscriptions preceding the name. Champollion read it *Osiris, the Osiridian;* and Prof. Migliarini interprets it by a phrase which expresses his notion of it, namely—*the Incorporated with Osiris*, as being initiated into, and consecrated to, his mysteries, and thus, it may be said, *identified* with him. This view is confirmed by a passage in Athenagoras:—*When Isis had found the scattered limbs of Osiris, who was stain by Typhon, she religiously buried them, which mode of inhumation is to this day called Osiriac.* When this wrapping was removed, others of a similar kind were found, but without any cement. They were fitted close to the body, and any slight interstices there might have been, owing to the bandages not being all of the same size, were filled up with compresses. This stratum presented no remarkable feature, except that a few strips of cloth were found, inscribed as above, upon the legs, but very slightly raised up.

Another stratum of asphalt was laid over the whole body, which we will call the Second Cement, to remove which pincers were obliged to be used in the first instance; afterwards, the cloths underneath were raised up.

There was found attached to this stratum a broad piece of cloth, which covered once more nearly the whole body, but it was unfortunately in tatters, having been destroyed by the bitumen and salt in the cement. Upon it also something was inscribed difficult at first to understand. When, however, the least mutilated fragment had been attentively examined, it turned out to be a *panther's skin*, with a stick (probably a thyrsus) and a sort of cap, such as is frequently represented, but with less precision, before Osiris, the judge, seated on the judgment seat. It may possibly allude to the admission into some order of the priesthood, one class of

which wears this panther-skin. In one section of the funereal papyrus, the soul is found similarly clad.

This is the first time that an imitation of the *panther's skin*, with other articles of dress, has been discovered on a mummy, and it proves the close resemblance between the Dionysiac rites and Egyptian formularies. All the peculiarities here exhibited offer a striking commentary on a statement made by Suidas (Ἡραΐσκος), whose account of the process of embalmment bears, in all its details, a remarkable resemblance to the one before us: "Upon the death of Heraiskus, after the embalmer had completed all the ceremonies prescribed by the priests, and the vestments of Osiris had been fitted on to the body, it suddenly became resplendent all over with light, through the cerements, which were diversified with secret characters, among which were special images, suitable to the deities--evident proof that the soul was already among the gods and associated with them."

To proceed with the description of what presented itself to notice afterwards. The head, and more particularly the face, was covered with bandages and narrow strips, like so many strings interlaced, and well fastened together in regular order, so as to form a number of squares, one inside the other, each less than its predecessor, the centre of which was at the nose. These bandages, after passing round the head, descended towards the neck. It is to be remarked that, before they were so fastened together and interlaced, they had all the usual prayers inscribed upon them, as far as could be ascertained from the few portions which were examined. This artificial mode of enwrapping was not new. There is another mummy of a man in the same royal museum, with similar wrappings about the face, but with the rest of the body swathed in a different manner, as will be seen from the drawing published by Dr. Nardi.[a]

Thus far the bandages were of a simple character and easy to arrange, such as an ordinary workman would be competent to do. But there were others formed into a regular chequer-work, which must have required great skill and experience to execute. It will be as well, perhaps, to give a description in this place of two instruments employed in the process, which we will call needles or pins of bronze, now in the same museum, and which appear, from their shape, to have been indispensable for making such complicated fastenings. The eye is sufficiently large to contain both the ordinary bandages and the double strips described above. Being only about as thick as the blade of a knife, they could easily pass through both the bandages, and their circular form peculiarly adapts them for per-

[a] Notes to Lucretius, 1647, pl. iv. fig. 2.

forming this operation. In the point of one of them there is a cavity, by means of which a strip may be pushed through and passed transversely; the head of the other, like the claws of a crab, is specially adapted for laying hold of and drawing out any string which might have slipped off or been stopped underneath, as well as for forcing it back into its proper place.

This lattice-work, as it may be called, having been removed from the face, some square pieces of cloth were found under it, which covered the head in various parts; as well as a fillet, which was composed of a finer thread of the same cloth, but more closely twisted, so as to have the appearance of a diadem.

On the forehead, not far from the right eyebrow, were found two feathers in stone, like those on the head of Ammon, and other similar figures.

The forehead itself was covered with three squares of cloth, with three caps drawn upon them; that is to say, the cap of the upper and the cap of the lower region, and one in the centre.

The two eyes were covered with similar squares, having eyes drawn upon them with wings and legs, which may be those of the Sun, or some other deity.[6] A different kind of artificial eyes, formed of cloth steeped in resin, and fitted under the orbits, were first noticed in unwrapping a mummy in London, which will be mentioned hereafter.

Above the occiput there was, in another square, larger than those above mentioned, the drawing of a Hypocephalon, with Cynocephali in the attitude of adoration, and around them a border, consisting of rams' heads, with four horns, like those with which the supreme god Ammon is represented; different from the Hypocephalon in Fig. F, which was over the head, between the protecting cowl and the body of the mummy. It was drawn upon finer cloth, made solid by the double stratum.[7]

There were other bandages, inscribed as above, which extended from the head over the different parts.

About the top of the left ear was found an amulet, said to represent an Egyptian column. It is more probable, however, that it was an ornament for the ear, representing, in small, a lotus or papyrus flower with its stalk, like the sceptre which all the female deities are represented holding in their hands. Being made of a material which easily stretches, it would lose its elegant shape, and so becoming short and thick, might look like an Egyptian column attached to its capital.[8]

It is needless to give a description of the other bandages wrapped round the different parts of the body, as they presented nothing remarkable. The last of

them were attached to a THIRD CEMENT, or stratum of asphalt, with an efflorescence, which was mixed and laid on over the whole body with greater regularity.

At this point, the object of our greatest anxiety, the existence of a papyrus, which was at first strongly doubted by the persons present, was established. Underneath the hands, which were folded over the breast, was found a papyrus rolled up, placed perpendicularly on the body. Measuring from the point of the chest downwards, the whole height of it was twelve inches, or a little more, and the length four braccia, sixteen inches. Unfortunately, the stratum of asphalt had been laid on to the papyrus very hot, so that it was fastened down all round, above and below, so tightly, that a portion of it was necessarily lost in the removal.

A few double strips of cloth, inscribed with the usual hieratic characters, adhered to the right arm, but it was impossible to ascertain whether they were connected with those which went down from the head. Similar strips were passed across the neck.

Upon the breast, or, more properly speaking, in the cavity formed by the hands up to the neck, was found a group of amulets, apparently thrown in promiscuously, made of different materials, as will be seen by the catalogue of them given below. They remind us of the beautiful mummy at Gotha, unrolled by Hertzog in 1715—the most precious which has been opened in Europe up to this day, as regards the vast quantities of little idols, scarabæi, frogs, Nilometers, &c. found in it, objects at that time very rare and highly appreciated.

There were now discovered upon the rest of the body pieces of cloth with drawings upon them, like those found about the head. On the right and left side two Osirises in two long squares. Near them, on the right, a figure of Thoth, with the eye in his hands. On the same strip a Nephthys, of a larger size than all the rest, the upper part of which only was identifiable; and with it another fragment of cloth, on which was drawn the goddess *Tme, truth;* and a fragment of the hawk of *Sokari*, and the back part of the jackal, the guardian of the Western region. On both sides towards the feet were two crocodiles, the one on the right only being well preserved. In general the right side was better preserved than the left, on which all the objects originally in duplicate were either in bad preservation or altogether destroyed.

On the front part of the legs, and perpendicularly along the thigh bones, there were two short inscriptions (Fig. E), but unfortunately very much mutilated, for reasons already assigned, and owing to the dark colour of the border they were of but little value.[9]

The wrists were ornamented with counterfeit bracelets, made of gummed cloth,

to imitate, by the aid of colour and gilding, precious stones. There were similar imitations of precious bandlets[a] around the ankles. Under the feet were represented false sandals, painted with the smallest possible chequers of different colours.

Under the armpit was a very small stone like a seal, which would seem to have found its way there from some other part, as it more properly belongs to the stones found on the breast.

When all these cere-cloths had been removed, the body appeared denuded, as it were; as before mentioned, it was that of a female of middling size, very little of it being preserved.

The skull, which was fleshless and burnt, had a hole made in it through the orbit of the right eye, apparently for the purpose of taking out the brain, and injecting the usual preparations into the head. This was generally done through the nostrils, but not in this instance, as they were untouched. In another mummy, opened in London in 1793, that of a female child about fourteen years of age, a similar hole was found in the roof of the mouth, which was used for introducing the preparation of resin into the skull. It is also said not to have had any remains of a tongue, or the small plate of gold in the mouth, peculiarities which characterise the mummy before us.

The whole anterior portion of the back broke to pieces on a very slight touch, it having been burnt by the asphalte, which was laid on to it in a boiling state. Marks of burning were likewise visible all over the body, so that on the slightest movement a separation took place wherever there was a joint. This prevented it from being all stripped. The first bandages, which were fastened tightly to the skin, and pressed almost into it, were not removed. It being merely the first wrapping which was applied, and as it presented no peculiarity, it was left in its place. This, however, does not imply that no further researches were made. Every fragment of the bandages was examined several times over. The result was, that the name of the deceased was discovered written at the top of the bandages of both sizes, that is, once on the broader and once on the narrower bandages (Fig. C). A few Demotic characters were also found in a corner (Fig. D), which may possibly be the mark of the manufacturer of the cloth.

From the vast quantity of wrappers used on this occasion it would seem that

[a] These ornaments have always been used by women in Asia on the ankles. The prophet Isaiah (chap. iii. 18), calls them עֲכָסִים A·CH·aSIM, and in Arabic the real name is *Khalkhal* (see Meynoun and Leïla). In the Coptic versions the Egyptian name is not given, the Greek word being used, but it may be ϵINϵ, T T. INI. Memphitic ?

there is no exaggeration in Abdallatif's[a] statement, who calculated that the necessary amount of material required for a careful and complicated embalmment of this description would be some thousands of yards.

Very diligent search was made to find, if possible, some clue for fixing, approximately at least, the date of the mummy. None such, however, were detected, except it be the representation of sandals under the soles of the feet, on the first outer envelope. These would indicate that the date was subsequent to the liberation of Egypt from the invasion of the Shepherds, and possibly at no great distance of time from that event. They were here specially characterised by their own peculiar costume, and with all its niceties, whereas after this time these details were forgotten and became obsolete, having given place to a conventional representation, which was naturally less exact.

Blumenbach, with extreme sagacity, observed that, in examining bodies of this kind, attention should be paid to the singular form which the incisor teeth sometimes present. He verified this by an entire head and a jaw in his museum, as well as by the mummy of a child about six years old (cited above). In spite of its tender age the incisor teeth had a *thickish crown, but little raised at the extremity of the tooth, which is usually pointed.* Middleton made the same observation in examining some mummies in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge; Bruckman in those of the gallery at Cassel; and Storr, who saw something like it in a mummy at Stuttgard. When we consider for how many ages and throughout how many revolutions the Egyptians retained the custom of embalming their bodies, it is obvious that we ought not to expect to find in them all one uniform dental conformation. On this account every little peculiarity of this kind is deserving of especial attention, the probability being that it may assist in determining the period at which the embalmment was made. In the present instance, however, this did not occur. The teeth offered no remarkable appearance, excepting that the person in her life-time had lost two in the right upper jaw, the cavities being filled up with bitumen.

On an examination of the skull and facial angle as exhibited in profile, it was agreed that it belonged to the pure Egyptian race. The Egyptians have been rightly classified between the Caucasian and Ethiopian races. We say the person in question was of pure race, because she was by several degrees more nearly related to the Caucasian than to the other stock; and bore a resemblance to some of the portraits of ancient heroes represented on bassi rilievi of the better period of that style of sculpture.

[a] Relazione dell' Egitto, lib. 1, c. iv.

Catalogue of the little Amulets found on the breast.

Little figures of Isis
„ „ „ Thoth, with the Ibis head } In paste, coloured like lapis lazuli.
„ „ „ Phré

Image of Esculapius, *Imouth*, paste in imitation of rosso antico.

Hawk, sitting
Image of Esculapius
The same, a fragment
Heart-shaped Vase
Uræus Serpent } Wood gilt.
Lotus flower
Nilometer
Symbolical eye of the Sun
Six Fragments of Objects not distinguishable

Two images of Esculapius, in enamelled earth.
A feather, striated, perhaps made of Ethiopian emerald.
Pillow, to rest the head on, very small, semi-circular, of hæmatite.

Other Objects, found elsewhere.

Lotus, or Papyrus flower, sceptre or column, found over the left eye, wood gilt.
Ammon feathers, in white stone, found over the eyebrow.
Nilometer, in enamelled earth, found on the right side.
A sort of square or seal, found about the arm-pit.

NOTES, *by* S. Birch, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.*

Pl. I.—1. The lady's name appears to be Takarheb, although it is once written Karheb, the demonstrative feminine article *Ta* being omitted. On a Ptolemaic tablet, belonging to M. Pulsky, it is written TAKAR[heb]. The word is determined by an ibis, and the whole means the name of a bird, perhaps the Coptic Karapep.

2. The name read NAa anTeW by Prof. Migliarini may possibly be AaPeH-PeH, a form of Apophis, or Aphobis. Conf. M. De Rongé (Mem. sur Tombeau d'Aahmes, p. 139), and Chev. Bunsen (Egypt's Place, vol. i. p. 516, No. 279).

3. The mother's name is NeBTeNHi; cf. Champollion, Gram. p. 95, where the word wing is given in its full phonetic form TeNH; or possibly NeBMEHi.

4. The father, it will be observed, held the double office of royal scribe and priest, shewing distinctly that there was no real *caste* difference in these two functions.

5. The Nilometer TaT was at the same time the emblem of a region and of a god. The region has been supposed to be *This*, from which the Thinite dynasty derived its origin (M. Lepsius, Ueber d. ersten Ægyptisch. Gotterkr. s. 35, note 2); or else the Meroitic island of Tadu (Pliny, N. H. vi. c. xxix. 34). In the Ritual, one of the invocations commences thus, "I am Tat, engendered of *Tat*, born of Tat" (Lepsius, Todt. i. 1, 4, 5). The first of the six amulets placed on the neck of the dead was a Tat (Lepsius, Todt. Taf. lxxv. c. 155). In "the chapter of the golden Tat placed at the neck of the dead," the deceased says, "Thy back to thee, Oh mild one [Osiris], placed in thy place, I bring thee the water belonging to thee; take it. I bring thee a Tat; rejoice thou at it. Said over a golden Tat, made out of the body of a sycamore-tree, placed at the throat of the dead; he enters at the door of the gates, he listens to the words; he takes his place on the day of the new year with those who are under Osiris. If he knows this chapter, he becomes a wise spirit in Hades; he is not turned away from the Gates of the West, he has given to him cakes and drink . . . , and a quantity of meat off the table of the Sun" (or of Osiris Hennophris). According to another version, he is justified against his enemies in the Hades, "in the place of the dead."

6. The two eyes on legs are the vignettes of the 163rd chapter of the Funeral Ritual or Book of the Dead (Lepsius, Todt. lxxvii.). The Book of the Dead really ends with the 162nd chapter, the final Rubric of which concludes *iu-f pu*, "it is finished." The 163rd and subsequent chapters, which are of very late introduction, are called, "The chapters [163-164] introduced into a second book added to the Book of the coming forth from the day. This [163rd chapter] is the chapter of how a person avoids that his body should be destroyed in Hades, and how to save himself from the devourers of souls who are at the prison, *tatho*, [?] . . . in the Gate; and how a person avoids that his sins should be borne off the world there; so that his body and limbs may be safe from the reptiles and gods which are lying wait in Hades, that he may come out and go in as he likes, and do everything which is in his heart and not be crossed." The vignettes of this chapter represent the two symbolical eyes, called *Uga*, the same word as that for "health" or "sound," with wings and legs, and a snake, having a disc and horns, walking on legs. The Rubric at the end gives the following account of what they represent:—"Said of a snake having legs and a horned disc. The two eyes have two legs and two wings; there being in the pupil of one [eye] the figure of a man raising his arm, with the head of a hawk having plumes, its back like a hawk. In the pupil of the other eye there is a figure raising one arm and having the face of Neith, wearing plumes; its back in the shape of a hawk, painted yellow in clear southern green colour, with water of the western lake of Egypt, on a slip of papyrus. A person wrapped on all sides with this is not turned away from any of the gates of the Empyreal Gateway; he eats and drinks and voids, as he did on earth; no opposers stand against him, the hand of the wicked is powerless (?) against him, for ever and ever. If this book is made on earth, he is not captured by the guides, who are rushing in to make destruction of the wicked of the entire earth; he is not smitten, he is not annihilated by the blows of Su [Typhon]: he is not taken to the prison, but he goes in to the gods of the Halls, and comes out justified, and goes forth to expel all the evil [he has ?] done on the whole earth."

The contents of this chapter are of a most mystical nature, as the following translation will show:— "I am," says the deceased, "the Soul of the great body at peace in *Aruhabu* [Arabia?] He [It] is the back [or trunk?] of the body of *Haluti*, the land, the arms of which repose [?] in the bay of *Senhakaruha*. Oh the Soul, existing, which is tasting his heart at his rising and setting; his soul is at peace in his body, which is at rest in *Senhakalukana*. The deceased may take it from the spirits of the god *Hes*, prevailer of hearts, the taker of hands; fire which the souls taste comes out of the mouths. Oh, he who is at rest in his body, making his scorching and burning in the sea, raising the sea with his vapours, give them flame, increase the vapours beyond what they are. He will place his hand at the [head] time of the deceased, for ever and ever. The deceased receives the time of the heaven; his time [head] is that of the pacers of the paths everywhere in the heaven. Whether thou art an earthly soul or a traverser, save thou the Osiris! rescue him from the demons, devourers of souls which have done evil. His soul is created in his body again; he is hidden in the midst of the pupil of the Eye. *Sharusharu* (*Khi*), *shapu* is the god making his existence; he rests in the north-west of the city of *T-ap*, of the land of Nubia. He has not gone to the East. Oh, Amen the bull, scarabæus, lord of Eyes, commander of its Pupil is thy name! The deceased is the drop and litnus of thy Eyes. *Arka Sharusharur*[*khi*] is the name of one Eye; *Shapu*, the god who made his existence, is the name of the other. *Shaka Amen Shakanasa*, at the head of Tum; Illuminator of the World is his name. In reality the deceased has come from the land of the two Truths, cleared of his sin; he is from the land of Disappearance. The Nostril is thy name. The wise (or victorious) spirit (the deceased) swears that [he] it is the soul [of] the great body in Sa [is] [of] Neith."

These mystical names only occur in the latest rituals of the Persian or Ptolemaic epoch, and appear to have been borrowed from some other religion. They had already attracted the attention of Champollion, and are mentioned in his letter to Baron William Humboldt, (Idelet, Hermapion,) in which he supposes many of those he cites to resemble Semitic names, and others to be Sanscrit. He also throws out the suggestion, that they may be the ineffable and mystical names referred to by Iamblichus, vii. 4. But in the 164th chapter of the Ritual, l. 6 (Lepsius, Todt. taf. lxxviii.) one of these names is said to be as "spoken by the Nahsi or Negroes of the Phut of Kans" or "Kenous" of Nubia. This would show that these mystical names either came from the Æthiopian or Meroitic worship, which had some share in the Theban service, as appears from the presence of the Negroes of Phut in the great festival of the ithyphallic Amen Ra of Thebes, or else from the worship of the Libyan Oasis. It will, of course, strike every one who has perused the extraordinary names used by the Gnostic heretics, how much similarity these have with them, as will be at once seen by comparing the late demotic papyrus, published by Dr. Leemans (Mon. Egypt., fol. Leide, Pl. I. and foll.; Reuvens, Lettres, 4to. Leide, 1830, p. 12), and the Greek one, edited by Mr. Godwin. Throughout the Ritual, the first duty of the "wise spirit" of the dead is to know the names of the gods, demons, doors, boats, regions which he meets. The images painted on the dead, after having had these mystical words recited over them, protected him hereafter in his passage. Taken in connection with the gilding of the face and other appearances, the mummy of Takarheb was probably not much older than the age of the Ptolemies.

7. Three of these flat discs, called by Champollion *Hypocephali*, or pillows, are in the col-

lections of the British Museum. The first which I shall cite (Cat. No. 8446) was made for Haneg-a-t-f, a Theban priest of Ammon, and of the Saviour and Brother gods, *i. e.*, of the Ptolemy Soter and Philadelphus and his wife. It has a black background, and its subject is in yellow outline, in two compartments:—1. The Sun as Af, or Num, going in his bark, with attendant deities. 2. The four ram-headed Num, or Amen Ra, adored by the four Cynocephali. A cow or bull and mummied figure are in the exergue. The second, No. 8445, which has its subject in black outline upon a yellow ground, is made of linen, like the preceding, and has four rows of subjects:—1. A god, with two human and one jackal head, wearing disc and plumes. Six rams, the emblems of Num, and three herons, those of the souls of the dead. A hawk (*akham*) mummied, in a boat. Isis and Nephthys adoring the chest of Osiris in a boat. Ra in a boat, with a scarabæus, adored by a cynocephalus. 2. The four-headed ram seated on the ground, wearing on his head the attire of Ptah Socharis Osiris, or the atf, adored by two apes, or Cynocephali, wearing solar discs. At the sides is a mystical address to the god:—

1. Oh creator, resident in his place.	Oh great Soul, produc-	1
2. Oh prevailer over heat, dwelling in the	ing the transformation of flames,	2
3. Empyreal gateway, giving life,	transformation of the two divine	3
3. Thence	Eyes—King.	3
4. prevailing over the gods of the gate by	his power.	4

The scenes of the other division are taken from the diurnal or annual passage of the Sun. Two boats, in one the Sun as Ra; in the other the Moon, as a Cynocephalus, adored by another ape, holding in its paw one of the mystic Eyes. A god offering an Eye to a god having a human form, with the body of a hawk. A cow, either one of the seven mystic cows or another of the Athor advancing, having before it the four demons Amset, Hapi, Tuautmutf, Kabhsenuf, and behind a deity full face. Behind these are a leaf (*shau*), an ape (*aani*), and a ram (*ha*), and a gateway with a ram's head. Behind, the god Ra seated, and a scarabæus. Above is "Adoration to the Sun." Thy beloved Son comes, &c.

Round the border is the following series of declarations:—

I am the Spirit (aakh) in my going.

I am Amen Ra, who is in the [hidden] void.

I am the Great One in the Gates (Empyreal region).

I am he who proceeds from the Eye.

I am he who is in its pupil [*gefg*].

I have come from the great place of Pennu (Heliopolis).

I proceed eternally from the Gates (Empyreal region).

The fragments of the third in the Museum Collection, No. 8845a, are two pieces, also in black outline, upon a white ground, but made of papyrus instead of linen. The scenes have a general resemblance to those of No. 8445. There remains the boat of the mummied eagle or hawk (*akham*), with rams and apes; the boat of the Cynocephalus of the Moon; a female, probably the Heaven, falling to the earth over a scarabæus, the Cosmogonic creation of the world; part of the scene of the mystic cow advancing to the pylon; Ra and scarabæus; the whole perhaps intended to represent the genesis of the Helios or Sun. The central inscription totally differs from that of No. 8445.

From what can be gathered from the mutilated phrases, it appears to be of a nature referring to a creation by fire, and is a different text of c. 163, as given in a papyrus of Tau (Salt, 955 Brit. Mus.):—

. . . . . nor them . . . . thou rejoicest Tattu . . .
. . . . . he has made things by (his) flame. Amen, hail
. . . . . he has brought to the fire of . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . of the heaven the second soul, the third soul.

The legend is equally mutilated:—

. . . . . made by thy terrors. I am . . . . . .
. . Amen, being in thy hidden place . . . . in thy rising . . . .
I am coming . . . . . .

The Mormon Joseph Smith, in his Pearl of Great Price, 8vo., Liverpool, 1851, p. 24, has engraved another of these hypocephali, which, in the arrangement of its subjects and the figures represented, is like No. 8445. The inscription is so badly engraved that it is not possible to make out its meaning, and Smith's interpretations throw no light upon it. Champollion, also, in his Panthéon Égyptien, Pl. 2 quinquies, has engraved part of another, with some very singular representations. Some additional light is thrown by the one of the Takarheb upon the meaning of the use of these hypocephali in Egyptian mysticism, and the scope of their representations. It will be at once seen that this hypocephalus (Fig. F.) contains three scenes. In the first is the double-headed human deity; then the phœnix, called the Soul of the West, in its boat; and a boat with the emblem of Thebes, and a scarabæus. On the other hypocephali the bird resembles the hawk of 71st chapter of the Ritual (Lepsius, Todt. taf. xxvi. c. 71), which, with the mystical cow, forms the picture of that chapter called "the Chapter of Departing from Light, of averting the destruction, of not being taken in Hades, and of preserving," or "bringing out the body from Taser," the place before the gates of the Sun, where the deceased entered. This chapter commences with the following inscription:—"Oh hawk, emanating from Æther, lord Mehur, the great cow, make me sound, like as thou thyself hast been made sound," &c. But the bifront figure resembles that of the planet Osiris, or Jupiter; the boat that of the Egyptian constellation Argo; the deity one of the decans; and the scarab one of the Egyptian constellations. In the other division is the cow, here called "the great cow;" the god seated on his throne, in his raised hand a whip, and behind his back a hawk body, corresponding to the description of the god in the pupil of one of the mystical Eyes, adored by an ithyphallic hawk-headed ape, holding to him an eye by both hands. This cow refers to the vignette of the 162nd chapter of the Funeral Ritual (Lepsius, Todt. lxxvii. 163) called the Chapter of "making the Warmth [? or Hypocephalus] under the head of the Spirit;" for this very expression is found above the cow in the hypocephalus. The chapter is of mystical import, like that referring to the two Eyes. It commences thus, "Hail to thee, Oh god Paru [Baal-Peor], pursuer, rejoicing with plumes, lord of crowns, flogging with the whip.

"Thou art the Lord, having the phallus, growing in shining light.

"Thou art the Lord of the numerous transformations of skins, hiding [or hidden in] them in the Eye at his birth.

"Thou art the Opener of divisions among the gods [?], the wounder [?], shaker of legs [?].

"Thou art the powerful God, to whom came my plaint, and my grief, ... "

The cow, after making this address, is then supposed to say, "I am the great cow; thy name is in my mouth. I will tell it—

"Pen ha ka ha ka her is thy name!

"Shu ru au aa kar sa ank ru-ba-ta- is thy name!

"The leaf [ichneumon] serau [the sheep] is thy name!

"Sharusata is thy name!

"Sebana is thy name!

"I am the Cow; my words are heard the day I bring thee the warmth under the head of the Sun, which is made in the Empyreal region, the god in Petennu. You may produce it as if on earth; it is thy soul in the region of *Khemret* (the land of Annihilation). The deceased has come; place thou the producer of warmth [*Hypocephalus*] under his head. . . . . It is the soul of the great body which reposes in Pennu.

"The light, the scarabæus, the Chief, is his name!

"[Hai kheper ur is his name!]

"Ba ru [*Baal*] ka ta ga ua is his name!

"Thou mayest come," answers the god addressed by the cow; "and let him be as one of my followers, thou art he."

The rubric gives the following explanation:—"Said [of the figure?] of a cow, made of good gold laid at the throat of the dead, and she is made in outline upon a roll (or book, *gam*) of linen placed under his head. There is then abundant warmth throughout his form, as when he was on earth. Very much . . . has made the cow to her son the Sun, when he sets; his place is . . . . from all persons, from . . . . . He is a god in the Hades; he is not turned away from any of the gates of the gateway in the place of the dead."

The inscription round the border of the object contains the final part of the chapter:—"Say, if you have placed this god at the throat of the dead—

"Oh Amen, of the gods!

"Oh Amen, who is above!

"Place thy face on the body of thy son!

"Make him well in the Hades!

"The book is the greatest of secrets;[a] do not let any eye see it,—that would be detestable; know it, hide it, make it. The Book of the goddess who rules the secret house is its name. It is ended!"

I apprehend from this that the circular form of the pillow was intended to represent the pupil of one of the mystical Eyes so fully described already, and that the object itself was considered as the restoration of the vital warmth of the body. Like the eyes with wings and legs, it was not a purely Egyptian idea, but one borrowed from another mythology.

8. The chapter of the mystic papyrus sceptre is given in Lepsius, Todt. lxxvi. 160.

9. Among the amulets often found on the mummies is a little pillow, made of hæmatite, the use of which is not explained in the Ritual of Turin. In one of the British Museum, however, made for a scribe named Nebseni, there is a chapter of the head-rest or pillow, with a vignette of this object, followed by another chapter called the chapter that of . . . . . the head.

[a] M. Chabas proposes "secret" as the meaning of shta, which agrees with this passage.

J. Barrow, lith.

XVII.—*Notes of Antiquarian Researches in the Summer and Autumn of* 1854.

By John Yonge Akerman, *F.S.A., Secretary.*

Read November 23, 1854.

Teddington, Middlesex.

On the 30th June last, at the invitation of the Council of the Surrey Archæological Society, I assisted at the opening of a Barrow at Teddington, near Kingston-on-Thames, but north of the river, and therefore in the county of Middlesex.

This Barrow stands within a field known by the name of "Barrow-field," on the right-hand of the road called Sandy Lane, leading from Hampton Wick to Bushey. A portion of it once extended into the road, but was cleared away about twenty years ago, when the road itself was widened, and the mound appears to have thus lost a considerable portion on its southern side, while traces of excavations in various parts of it plainly showed that it has more than once been assailed, not by the antiquary, but by treasure-seekers, as will be hereafter seen.

The mound, thus abridged of its proportions, measured from the level of the field to the apex 12 feet 3 inches, from north to south 52½ feet, and from east to west 96 feet: this discrepancy shews the extent to which it had been reduced by the clearing already alluded to.

We commenced by opening a trench eight feet wide, on the north side of the tumulus, but the presence of bricks and tiles soon convinced us that we had been preceded, though probably at some distant period, and the cutting was suspended. A trench of the same width was then opened on the south side, and after some hours' work the floor of the grave was reached.

Traces of combustion, extending several feet around, were now perceived, the sand of which the tumulus was entirely composed being burnt to a brick colour, while fragments of charcoal were distributed in various directions. In the very centre of what we must consider as the site of the funeral pile, was a heap of calcined bones, upon which lay the bronze blade of a knife or dagger, of a

description similar to those hitherto met with in our primæval barrows. No traces of an urn were observed; but scattered on the floor of the grave were several fragments of flint, of which the like have so often been found in these early mounds, and which had probably served the purposes of knives to the tribe which had assisted at these obsequies.

As already observed, the whole of this Barrow appeared to be composed of sand, and was remarkably free from flints and stones, of which but very few were perceived; nor was the mass of calcined bones protected by any heap differing from the rest of the mound, the sand being in immediate contact with it. Neither were any human or animal bones discovered during this day's excavation, but, buried superficially, the workmen found a portion of the rim of a large urn, which afforded conclusive evidence that this Barrow had been disturbed at some former period. On the following day the excavations were continued by Mr. Charles Bridger, a member of the Surrey Archæological Society. On digging a little eastward of the first trench, fragments of a very large and rudely formed half-baked urn were discovered, and some portions of calcined human bones. This interment was about four feet below the apex of the mound, and had evidently been disturbed (probably at some very distant period) by treasure-seekers.

Further excavations by Mr. Bridger have produced a flint hatchet-head, and the bones of an adult buried superficially.

Mr. Quekett, of the College of Surgeons, to whom the calcined bones have been submitted, states that they are those of an adult, and that they have been subjected to a great heat, with free access of air during combustion. Among the fragments he detected portions of the cranium, portions of the upper and lower maxilla, the fang of an incisor tooth, and the phalangal bone of a finger.

From the evidence obtained in the remains here discovered, we shall not err in assigning the first interment in this Barrow to a very remote period. The bronze dagger would seem to indicate that the individual whose obsequies had been celebrated by the rite of cremation, was a person of some rank and consideration among the primæval inhabitants of this district, since it is very evident, from the presence of flint implements in the mound, that the use of metal was not common among them.

Wingham, Kent.

On the 14th of August I visited the well-known site of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Gilton, or, as it is commonly called, "Gilton Town," a suburb of Ash, three miles west of Sandwich. I found the sand-pit, the scene of Bryan

Faussett's explorations, had been planted with fruit-trees, a road having been made between it and the rising ground, upon which three windmills now stand. Hearing that some remains had been discovered on the other side, when a walk had been made at the back of the cottage of Mr. Thorpe the miller, I obtained his permission to open ground in that direction, but could find no further traces of interments; and removed on the following day to Wingham, where, by permission of Earl Cowper, I proceeded to explore the summit of a chalk-bank, at a spot called "Wetherden's Hall," about half a mile south-east from the town.[a]

The frequent finding of Anglo-Saxon relics here for years past, by the workmen occasionally engaged in digging chalk, attracted the attention of Lord Londesborough (then Lord Albert Conyngham), who in 1843 prosecuted some researches in this spot, and, among other objects, discovered a bronze bowl or patera, and a fibula.[b]

Those excavations were made at a venture, the ground having been opened here and there wherever the soil appeared loose and a grave was supposed to exist. This, therefore, rendered it now necessary to excavate a considerable portion of the surface-soil, an operation in which I was greatly assisted by labourers in the employ of Mr. James Elgar, who took a lively interest in our proceedings, and to whom I am indebted for a photograph of the spot; while his brother, Mr. John Elgar, kindly furnished me with a tracing of the site from the parish map, both of which are now exhibited.

There is probably no spot in England better calculated to recal the habits and superstitions of our heathen forefathers than that we are describing. At the foot of the hill rises a well of the purest water, the stream passing through the meadows and intersecting the northern portion of the town, below which it joins another stream called Wingham River, the source of which is "Wingham Well," a short distance south of Wingham.

The ancient road, which I am informed once ran from Canterbury, leads, in an easterly direction, across Wingham Down, passes along the southern end of the chalk-pit, and proceeds through the cleft in the hill called Blackney Down, on the summit of which it is crossed by the turnpike-road to Staple and Wodensborough. By the side of this old road, not many yards from the cemetery, stand a row of

[a] This locality is given as "Weatherless Hall" on the Ordnance Map. It was formerly the property of Sir Brook Bridges, who exchanged it with Earl Cowper.

[b] Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. i. p. 3. These objects are engraved in "Remains of Pagan Saxondom," plates x. and xi.

very ancient elder-trees. As we looked on these trees, doubtless the offspring of others once highly venerated by the heathen Saxons, and on the beautiful spring already alluded to, our thoughts reverted to the ancient canons, which forbid the worshipping of such objects by those who had been converted to the true faith.[a]

Several graves were met with which had been despoiled of their contents, but two were found to contain skeletons.

The first was of a woman, measuring exactly five feet three inches; the head to the west. The skull was of the usual elongated form, and caries had partly destroyed all the molar teeth. At the neck were several beads of different colours, formed of vitrified pastes. Near the left hand, which rested on the lap, were, what appears to be a bone spindle-whorl, the iron spindle passing through it; and a single bead, of amethystine quartz crystal, of the usual form.

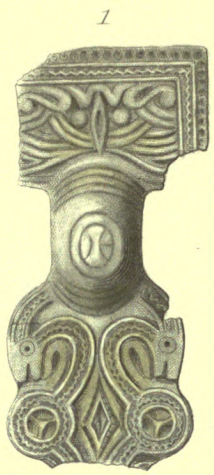
The next grave contained the skeleton of an adult of middle stature. The skull was small, but the forehead high and beautifully formed. The sutures were obliterated, and all the molar teeth had evidently been lost in life-time, as the alveoli were perfectly closed. In the lap were an iron knife of the usual configuration, the tag of a waist-belt, a ring, a hasp,[b] and a buckle, all of iron.

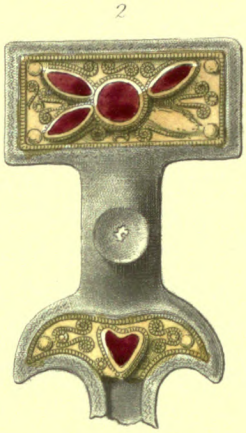
No further interments were discovered in the portion of ground excavated, but, although so few objects were acquired, one of them is yet of considerable interest. I allude to the distaff, the characteristic emblem of the Anglo-Saxon woman, as the spear is often that of the man.[c] The flat bone ring in which the iron spindle was inserted is precisely similar to the object delineated in "Saxon Obsequies," plate 23, fig. 102. It was perhaps the binding or guard of a socket of some perishable material, for it will be observed that there are perforations near the edges by which it might be secured. That these objects were placed in the grave with the iron spindle passing within the ring will be perceived by the ferruginous tinge which it has imparted to one side of the bone.

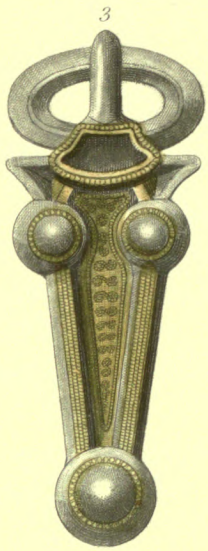
[a] "And we enjoin that every priest zealously promote Christianity and totally extinguish every heathenism; and forbid *well-worshippings* (ꝑil-peoꝛꝺunga) and the vain practices which are carried on with various spells, and with frith-splots and *with elders* (ꝯ on ellenum)," &c. Canons of Edgar, c. 16. Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, ed. B. Thorpe, 8vo. London, 1840. The predilection of our heathen forefathers for such objects is strikingly illustrated in the choice of the site of the cemetery of Little Wilbraham. Compare the ground-plan, here given, with that in "Saxon Obsequies," a record of excavations by the Honourable R. C. Neville, 4to. London, 1854.

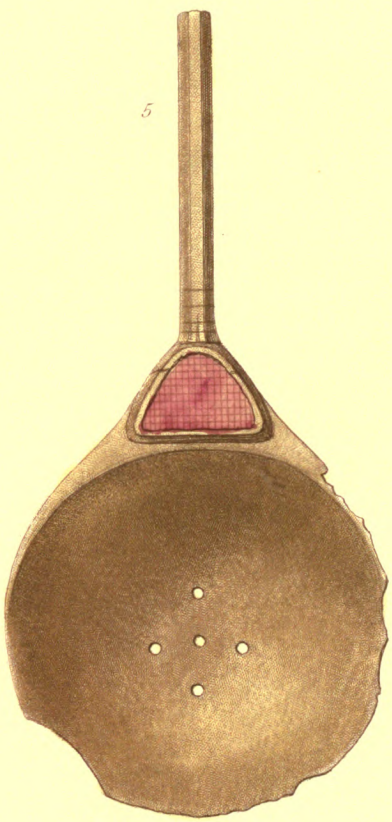
[b] See a similar hasp in Nenia Britannica, plate viii. fig. 5. And another in Hoare's Ancient Wilts, vol. ii. p. xxxi. B. found with Anglo-Saxon remains at Woodyates.

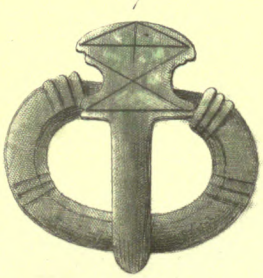
[c] See Archæologia, vol. XXXV. p. 267, note b.

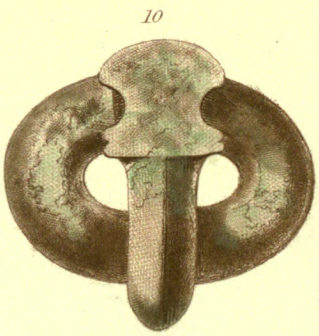












OBJECTS FOUND IN A TUMULUS AT STODMARSH, KENT.

(All of the actual size.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1855.

J. Basire.

The single bead of amethystine quartz, found near the left wrist, would appear to have been worn as a charm. A solitary bead is not unfrequently discovered near the left hand both of male and female skeletons.

Stodmarsh.

Stodmarsh is a small village, about three miles from Wingham, overlooking the Valley of the Stour. At a short distance westward is the old mansion, Stodmarsh Court, erected in the reign of James the First. The ground rises abruptly at this spot, and the road from the village passes over it in a westerly direction. On the brow of the hill, on the south side of the road, and immediately facing the mansion, was formerly a tumulus, which was supposed to be composed of gravel, like the hill itself. About seven years since, a labourer engaged in removing this mound, which was then found to be formed of sand, suddenly broke into a grave, which, by its contents, was evidently that of one of the Saxon settlers in this district of East Kent. The man who made this discovery states that there were no traces of human remains, but the relics he dug up appear from their number and variety to have belonged to two persons, and those of different sexes. They are said to have comprised spear-heads and the umbo of a shield, bronze bowls, fibulæ, beads, and other personal ornaments and utensils. These the finder carried to his master, Mr. Collard, of Stodmarsh Court, by whom they were disregarded, and I regret to say the bronze bowl and the weapons have been lost. For the objects now exhibited I am indebted to the kind intervention of Mr. John Elgar, of Wingham Court, who immediately applied for and obtained them.

Objects found at Stodmarsh.

(See Plate.)

No. 1. Portion of a fibula of a base mixed metal, the sunk parts silvered. The lower part is ornamented with snake-like figures. The composition of the metal resembles that of a fragment of a fibula discovered with a large sword at Coombe near Sandwich.

No. 2. Portion of a bronze fibula of coarse workmanship, inlaid with gold and filagree work, and set with slabs of garnet heightened, as usual, by stamped gold-foil at the back.

No. 3. A buckle of very beautiful form and workmanship, the sunk portion being covered with a thin plate of gold, on which is set a filagree pattern of the same metal. The bosses with which it is ornamented are very characteristic, each being surrounded by a beaded line at the base. The base of the tongue has been probably set with a slab of garnet.

No. 4. A small fibula of bronze, of coarse workmanship, set with a garnet in the centre. This was doubtless a female ornament.

No. 5. A spoon of mixed metal, which has been gilt. The bowl is perforated with five holes. At the junction of the handle with the bowl, a slab of garnet is inserted, heightened by a leaf of stamped gold at the back.

No. 6. A small stud, probably a portion of some ornament which was overlooked by the finder. It bears the usual pattern, and is set with a greenish opaque stone.

No. 7. A bronze buckle, probably the fastening of the belt of a man.

Nos. 8 and 9 are of bronze, and appear to have formed portions of the fittings of a belt or girdle. Similar objects are delineated by Douglas in Nenia Britannica, pl. xv. fig. 9.

No. 10. A bronze buckle in configuration resembling No. 7. but much more massive. Their Teutonic character is very striking, and their form may be compared with those given by Douglas (N. Brit. pl. xx. fig. 3). Compare also figs. 23, 25, 26, 28, and 32, in pl. xi. of "La Normandie Souterraine."

Of all these objects, the *spoon* is the most remarkable. It is the second example from the Anglo-Saxon graves of East Kent. The first, discovered by Douglas, and now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, is engraved in the Nenia (pl. 2. fig. 9). It is of similar construction, but the bowl is covered with perforations, the largest being in the centre, while this has but five holes, and is ornamented with one slab of garnet only. Its use must be left to conjecture. Douglas supposed it to have been designed for magical purposes, and identifies it with the superstition of the *sieve and sheers*,* but of this we have no proof whatever. He states that his specimen was found between the bones of the femur, and perhaps rightly conjectures that it was worn at the girdle. The extremity of the handle is perforated, which favours such an opinion.

On visiting Stodmarsh, I discovered by the road side, a little westward of the Barrow in which these objects were found, a well defined tumulus, forty feet in diameter and about four feet high, and, having obtained the permission of Mr. Collard, I proceeded to open it. I found it, as its appearance plainly indicated, to have been artificially formed from the level of the surrounding soil; but after some time consumed in excavating it, the solid gravel having been reached without any traces of an interment, it was abandoned. I was informed that an ancient elder once grew on this mound, and as these trees are reproduced during many ages like thorns, it is not altogether improbable that this was one of those relics of the

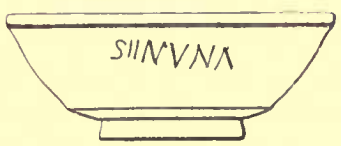
* Nenia Britannica, p. 6. Pagan Saxondom, pl. xxxiii.

superstitions of our pagan Saxon forefathers. That a tree had really formerly stood here we had proof in the decayed roots, which had penetrated to a great depth.

On the same day I opened a circular mound, contiguous to that which had been removed, as already described. It was much depressed, and formed artificially, and very compactly, of gravel, but it contained nothing. Why such a mound was made in close proximity to the other, which had produced so many objects of interest, must be left to the speculation of the antiquary. The accompanying sketch will shew the situation of these mounds, that marked with parallel lines being the one in which the relics were discovered.

Deerson.

While at Wingham I learnt from Mr. Minter, a farmer at Wenderton, that some Roman urns had been found on land in the occupation of his brother in law, Mr. Goodson of Deerson, a farmstead near the village of Preston. On proceeding thither I found that a labourer in the employ of Mr. Goodson had, while digging in a gravel pit on the farm, a short distance west of Preston, disinterred some cinerary urns and a small patera of Samian ware. Unfortunately the urns were in a very fragile state and fell to pieces soon after their discovery; but a small patera of Samian ware, on the outside of which is scratched the word SIINVNA, had been preserved, and this I found placed before a hen-coop! The style of this inscription, the II expressing the letter E *(Senuna)*, as is not unusual in the later Roman inscriptions in this country, warrants our ascribing this patera to a late period of the Roman occupation. Roman remains have been discovered in other places in this neighbourhood. Some urns were dug up by a labourer at a spot called White Hill, overlooking the valley of the Little Stour.



Woodbury near Salisbury.

In the second field within the angle formed by the Hodstock [a] and the Longford

[a] I have ventured to correct the orthography of this name, usually spelt Odstock, on the authority of Anglo-Saxon charters. (Cod. Dipl. 387.) Hoddestoc means the land-mark of Hod, a Saxon probably of note in this district, whose descendants are yet found among the Hoddings, a name still existing in yeoman families in the South of England.

Roads, on rising ground, looking on the Avon, is a tumulus called "Rowbarrow."[a] The spot on which it stands is a part of the district called "Woodbury,"[b] which joins Harnham Hill. Its diameter is one hundred and twenty-eight feet, but its base has evidently been enlarged by the passing of the plough, which has removed the earth from and considerably depressed its apex. By permission of Mr. Jervoise, the owner of the land, and Mr. Attwater the tenant, I proceeded to open this Barrow on the 13th of September, cutting a trench ten feet wide from north to south. It was soon perceived that the whole mound from the level of the ground had been artificially formed. At about one foot below the surface the bones and teeth of ruminants were discovered, and lower down occasional traces of charcoal were met with. On reaching the centre on the following day a heap of flints was discovered, and as these are often found to cover and protect the interment care was taken in the removal of them, but nothing was found beneath, nor could any traces of a cist in the solid chalk be discovered. Although aware of the uncertain result of excavations in Barrows of the primæval period, of which this appeared to be an example, I was much disappointed at finding no object of interest within it. The bones and teeth and traces of charcoal were of the kind usually found in tumuli of this character, and I am led to conclude that it has been explored at some very distant period by the treasure-seekers of the middle ages, for the materials of which it was composed had acquired a solidity which age alone could impart to them.

The bones and teeth which have been alluded to are those of a large pig, a dog, and ruminants.

Old Sarum.

Hearing that some human remains had been turned up occasionally by the plough in the field nearly opposite the Old Castle Inn, I obtained, on the application of Mr. H. J. F. Swayne, permission to make excavations, and on the 18th of September commenced operations; but after digging some hours, during which the labourers discovered a few human bones which had evidently been brought from

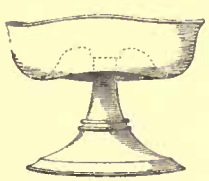
[a] The term Rowbarrow would seem to designate a tumulus or eminence which had once been topped with stones, presenting a rugged apex. Compare the epithets Ruganbeorh, Ruwanbeorh, Ruanberg, in the Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, *passim*.

[b] Woodbury appears to have been included in the grant of Cenwealh to the Church of Winchester. See the land limits of this grant in my account of the Harnham Cemetery, Archæologia, vol. XXXV.

some other spot, further research was abandoned. The finding of the blades of two mediæval knives, and a very common jetton or abbey piece, with the legend AVЄ MARIA . GRACIA . PLЄNA . seemed to indicate that the field had been dressed at some early period with soil brought from the neighbourhood.

Subsequently I was informed by Mr. Swayne that skeletons had been dug out of the bank on the other side of the road when it was widened some years ago. We accordingly resolved to try this spot, and proceeded to excavate in the corner of the paddock attached to the inn, immediately opposite the entrance to the rings. The exact situation will be seen by the accompanying sketch, kindly contributed by Mrs. Swayne. The soil here consisted of loose earth and rubble, affording evidence that it had been removed. After excavating to the depth of three feet a purer chalky soil was reached, and two feet lower the men arrived at a cist cut in the chalk rock. This was filled with loose chalk, among which were observed some shards of Roman or Romano-British pottery, like those discovered in pagan Anglo-Saxon graves, and some pigs' teeth and the teeth of ruminants. Around the head and shoulders of the skeleton which lay in this cist were some large flints, placed like those discovered in pagan burial-grounds, and at the feet were some iron nails. The skull was in very perfect state, and the teeth even, white, and well preserved, bearing no marks of attrition. The body lay north-west by south-east, the head north-west. There was in fact nothing to distinguish this from one of the later pagan interments, but our subsequent finding appears to leave this problematical.

On widening the trench, and continuing it westward, other skeletons were discovered, but these were not so deep as the first interment. One of them was of a man who had passed the middle age, the cranium well developed, and the teeth nearly perfect. At the left side of the head were a chalice and paten of pewter.



No traces of a coffin were observed, but it cannot be safely asserted that there had been none.

A little to the right of this grave was another on the same level, and this had

been formed in the chalk rock. It contained the very perfect skeleton of a man of advanced age and of middle stature. The left arm from the shoulder to the wrist appeared to be defended by a narrow trough of lead, which on removal was discovered to be the remains of a coffin, which, from some fibres adhering to the outside of this fragment, had evidently been inclosed in one of wood.

Middle Wallop, Hants.

On the 20th of September, by permission of Mr. Dowling the owner and occupier of the land, I opened the tumulus known as "Kent Barrow," or "Canute's Barrow," situated a short distance north of the Andover Road, and about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles east from Middle Wallop. It is a conspicuous object on the Ordnance Map.

The diameter of this Barrow was found to be sixty-six feet, its height about six feet. It stands in the middle of a ploughed field, and the earth of which it is formed appears to have been taken from the alluvial soil around it, which in the vicinity of the Barrow appears to be scarcely a foot in depth.

I was informed that when the plantation of firs was made a short distance east of this mound, several human skeletons were dug up, but I could not learn whether any relics had been discovered with them. I also heard that traces of old foundations had been met with in the adjoining field north of this Barrow, but I could perceive no vestiges which would enable me to judge of their age or character.

The view from this spot is extensive. On the south is the well-known encampment called Danebury; four miles north-east is the town of Andover; and about midway is Abbot's Ann, where, in a field a short distance from the town, are extensive traces of Roman foundations.

The excavation proceeded by the cutting of a trench seven feet wide through the Barrow from south to north down below its base until the chalk rock was reached. As already observed, the mound was formed of fine mould, no pebbles or flints occurred, but several small fragments of Roman or Romano-British pottery appeared to perplex us. At length the centre was reached, and a cube yard of large flints, some of them weighing nearly a quarter of a hundredweight, was laid bare. They were not heaped together promiscuously, but placed, apparently with care and skill, so as to resemble rude masonry, the mould of which the tumulus was formed being used instead of mortar. It was very evident to all present that this mass of flints had never been disturbed, and it was only by the exertion of some force that they were detached from each other. The block thus formed did not rest on the chalk rock but on the surface of the ground.

As the blocks of flint were separated, it appeared that some of them had slight traces of charcoal upon their surfaces, but none apparently had sustained the action of fire, and as the demolition of the mass proceeded, we were on the tip-toe of expectation; strange to say, however, nothing was found beneath it but the alluvial soil on which it rested, unstained by fire or the least trace of any deposit. Further excavations on one side of the trench brought to light some bones, which Mr. Quekett informs me are portions of the pelvis of an ox, and two small flints of the chalk which have evidently passed the fire.

"Kent Barrow" therefore remains still an archæological problem, of which I fear it will be difficult to offer a satisfactory solution. Its exploration has disclosed a method of construction of which I believe but one other example—namely, a Barrow at Ellenborough in Cumberland, explored in 1763—has hitherto been noticed in this country. In that, however, the substructure was formed of turf.[b] But to what age shall we ascribe the tumulus at Wallop? And must we regard it as designed for an altar or a cenotaph?

The presence of fragments of pottery, well baked and turned in a lathe, forbids our assigning it to a very early period, and most assuredly not to the more ancient inhabitants of the district, the aboriginal Britons; but the negative evidence which this supplies leads us to no safe conclusion as to its origin, which will probably remain for ever a mystery.[a]

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.

Society of Antiquaries, November, 1854.

POSTSCRIPTUM.

I was about to commit the foregoing remarks to press, when Mr. Wylie received a letter from Capt. Von Dürrich, of the Royal Wirtemberg Engineers, the substance of which he has since communicated to the Society (Proceedings, vol. iii.

[a] A friend who has looked over these sheets is of opinion that "this Barrow is of the primæval period created for some purpose, sacrificial or commemorative, that we shall never rightly discover. You will remember," he remarks, "that I opened three very large tumuli near Blackwater, Hants, composed of fine mould, without finding a trace of relics within. Monsieur Feret of Dieppe has often named to me as singular, that in his examination of ancient Gaulish barrows and habitations, he has found substructions composed of blocks of chalk, set together in a rude masonry without mortar." "In fact," he adds, "I saw the same thing myself in a barrow at Varangeville; masses of chalk and large flints, with the occasional presence of charcoal."

[b] Archæologia, vol. II. page 57.

Feb. 1, 1855). In that letter the writer mentions the discovery by him of tumuli of an evidently similar character to that explored at Wallop. Placed on the altar-like substructure were earthen vessels and other objects indicating a Celtic origin. Subsequently in a letter with which Capt. Von Dürrich has favoured me, in answer to inquiries addressed to him,—he observes, "The Hampshire Barrow, which strongly resembles our hill tumuli, greatly interested me. Your tumulus, however, has not the stones, which in ours, probably Keltic, are found to lie above the earth that covers the altar. If my health and the circumstances of the times permit, you shall have a full account of all my archæological labours." The great importance of comparing our ancient remains with those of the Continent, is here apparent, and I shall anxiously look for the promised communication of the learned and gallant Captain. The sketch which accompanied his first letter showed that the substruction or altar of the Wirtemberg tumuli rests on the natural soil, and that it is covered first by a layer of earth, above which is a course of stones which are covered with earth in the ordinary manner. From this additional evidence I am disposed to consider the Barrow at Wallop of the later ante-Roman period, but the fragments of pottery alluded to are clearly those of vessels turned on a lathe, and not at all resembling the fabric of the more primæval British urns.

J. Y. A.

March 17, 1855.

XVIII. *Notes upon the Sculptures of a Temple discovered at Bath.* *By* George Scharf, *Jun., Esq., F.S.A.*

Read February 8th, 1855.

During the fall of last year I visited the ancient city of Bath, and was astonished at the quality and extent of the sculptures and inscriptions now preserved in the Literary Institution. They are collected in a vestibule attached to that building, which has a portico of very pure Greek Doric architecture, and the sculptures are effectively arranged, with the advantage of a central light from above. All the sculptures in this vestibule have a particular local interest, as they were discovered within the precincts of the city, most of them about the year 1790, upon what appears to have been the site of an ancient temple, or, more probably, a group of buildings.

On entering the apartment I at once recognised two or three of the sculptures as having been engraved in Carter's "Ancient Architecture of England," Plates 8, 9, and 10. These engravings are coarse and rough, but are, in fact, the only ones which do justice to the boldness and vigour of the originals.

I fortunately met my friend the Rev. Mr. Scarth, of Bathwick, who has recently contributed some valuable information to this Society, and, by his aid, obtained reference to other works that have been already published upon these antiquities.

On my return to town I procured access to them.

The following may be selected for mention:—

Sir Henry Charles Englefield's communication in the Archæologia, vol. X. entitled "Account of Antiquities discovered at Bath, 1790."

John Carter's work, 1796, already referred to.

The Rev. Richard Warner's "Illustrations of the Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath," 1797.

Samuel Lysons's "Remains of two Temples, and other Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath," 1802.

The latter, a magnificent folio work, is incomparably superior to the others, not only for scale, but for fidelity, and the words "drawn with the most scrupulous

accuracy" of his advertisement, are fully merited, excepting in two or three minor particulars.

Having procured an accurate tracing of Lysons's plates, I returned with it to Bath, and collated it with the original, marking carefully the details he had overlooked or misunderstood. In saying this I should be sorry, indeed, to be considered disposed to lessen or underrate the value of those illustrations by Mr. Robert Smirke, Jun., of that time, or of the experienced Mr. William Daniel: I am perfectly aware of the different circumstances under which they beheld the sculptures. They were not, then, deposited in the elegant vestibule that now protects them. The light upon them must have been less advantageous, and they were most probably drawn under circumstances of great difficulty. It may be also remembered that in former times the Directors of the Archæologia and the art-studying public were not, as we know they now are, so very particular.

Of all the plates in Lysons, those representing the subjects most interesting to me, namely, sculptures of the human figure, were least satisfactory, because, although laboriously minute in details, they were deficient in energy and spirit.

I therefore offer to your notice, this evening, an enlarged drawing, by the assistance of my Father, representing the principal compartment of the ancient temple, together with sketches of some other portions of sculpture, all of which, although greatly beyond the size of any published plates, still fall far short of the original dimensions.

It is not my intention to offer you any original interpretation of the subjects here represented; I hope, rather, by the display of these diagrams, to elicit from others some further illustrations of these really curious subjects—for they have, unfortunately, not yet acquired the notoriety in other countries which they seem to deserve, and I hope that some of our illustrious members may contribute, from their own stores of recent learning, a permanent interpretation, and close for ever the conflicting statements and opinions contained in the few works above quoted.

The larger drawing which I exhibit represents the central part of the tympanum of a pediment belonging to some richly-decorated building.

The altitude of the tympanum measured 8 feet 4 inches; and, by observing a stone containing the angle, the length of the tympanum was found to be 24 feet 2 inches.

Sir Henry Englefield observes,[a] "The most singular part of this building is the extreme elevation of the pediment; and this is so well ascertained as to leave no doubt about it. No ancient building as yet discovered has a pediment of so

[a] Archæologia, vol. X. page 327.

acute a pitch as this; though in smaller works, and on medals, such are not uncommon."

He next describes Plate 32, of the same subject as my diagram, and says[a] that it "exhibits the central ornament of the tympanum of the temple, every part of which was measured on the spot, and all the ornaments faithfully drawn there, except the head in the centre, into the eyes of which, I fear, I have put a degree of expression which the original wants. The disposition of the beard, which is the most curious part of the head, I can, however, answer for. It has been carved on four stones, whose joints are faintly marked in the drawing."

He concludes his description by saying, "The execution of the whole is very indifferent; but the head is as bad as possible, flat, hard, and without taste or expression."

To this sweeping condemnation I cannot by any means subscribe; and few persons looking at the drawing now exhibited, or the plate engraved in Lysons, would declare that they never saw worse art. Those who have studied the age of decadence to which this unquestionably belongs will admit, that greater faults and barbarisms are to be found on coins, and among the sculptures of Rome itself, than in the subject before us.

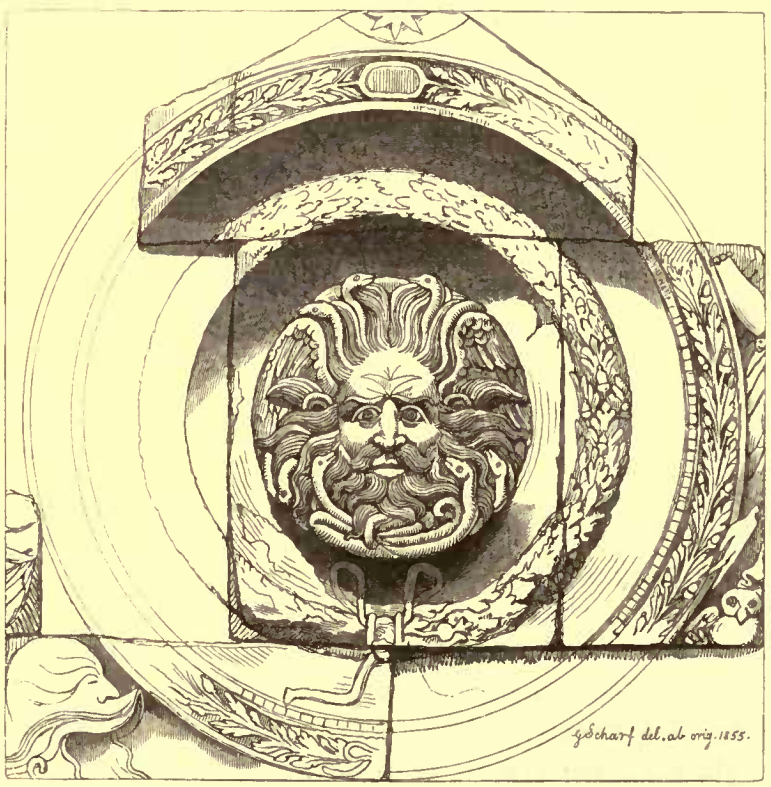
The execution is coarse, and the material, taken from the quarries in the neighbourhood, does not admit of any great delicacy of execution. The eyes are crude, and extravagant in drawing; but there is an effective treatment of the work, as intended for a distance, and a peculiar roundness about the flesh, which (to use an artist's technicality) is especially pulpy upon the cheeks. The arrangement of the hair is very artistic, and the mode in which the snakes are made to combine with it is worthy of observation.

In making these remarks, you will permit me to remind you that I am not speaking of this specimen with regard to sculpture generally, but with reference to the class of art to which this sculpture particularly belongs: I mean of late-Roman art and provincial workmanship, and of which, I believe, we have no better specimens in this country. The celebrated Lanx now in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland, and of which I was permitted to make a careful study in 1852, belongs also to this class.

To return to the sculpture itself. It must have originally consisted of twelve separate stones, only six of which remain. The subject is a large circular shield, called Clipeus, supported by two flying figures of Victory: the feet of the right-hand Victory still remain attached to a globe.

[a] Archæologia, vol. X. page 331.

In the centre of the shield is a bold head surrounded by locks of hair, so arranged as to leave the face exactly in the centre; the beard is united with the hair of the head, forming one continued circle, and permitting only the tips of the ears to be distinguished on each side. Two large feather-wings spring conspicuously, *not* from the temples or forehead, as is usual, but from behind the ears, where they are connected with a lock of hair in somewhat clumsy fashion. Serpents are seen protruding from among the locks: they are arranged symmetrically, so that the position of the snakes' heads is nearly the same on both sides. This is not so in the disposition of the beard and lower serpents, where only a general symmetry has been observed. The union of snakes with the hair, and the appearance of the wings, have suggested to many writers the notion that this must be the head of Medusa.



All, I believe, concur in recognising the existence of moustaches (which Mr. Warner calls *whiskers*) and beard, appendages that are certainly in opposition to every known authenticated representation of the Gorgon Medusa.

Lysons says, in a note to his descriptions, page 3, "One of the most striking peculiarities of this head, namely, the whiskers, may be seen in a work apparently of better times. See Montfaucon's Antiquité Expliquée, vol. ii. tab. 54." On turning to Montfaucon, according to the reference, I found a representation of a moustached Medusa upon an ancient acerra—a bronze incense-box—which afterwards came into the hands of the Comte de Caylus, and is now in the possession of my friend Mr. Disney, in his well-known collection at the Hyde, near Ingatestone. Having often seen the original, I recognised the subject at once. As a specimen of real antiquity, this bronze acerra is open to much question; but it remains for us to examine its weight as an authority for a whiskered Medusa. At one of the ends is undoubtedly a Gorgon's head, and in Montfaucon's plate it is represented with *four* wings, two of them reversed, and enormous moustaches, more nearly resembling those of a Chinese mandarin than any example in classic art I remember to have seen; but on comparing this plate of Montfaucon with a careful engraving published in the Museum Disneianum, plate 78, not only the moustaches vanish, but the couple of wings reversed, made to spring from the jaw-bone, disappear also.

The execution of the present head is very remarkable. Whilst the architectural ornaments of the columns are bold and pierced—a style so peculiar to the decadence period—it exhibits no appearance of drill-holes except in the centre of the eyeballs, where the hole is so deep that the point of my pencil was lost in it. The nostrils are well pronounced, and the lips very clearly defined; altogether, there is a remarkably individual character about the physiognomy. The eyes are peculiar in shape, but the form of the lids carefully observed, and the marking of the eyeball by two deep-cut circles, and the hole in the centre, were evidently calculated for distant effect. The eyes themselves—that is, the spaces enclosed between the eyelids—are remarkably flat. I, perhaps, insist on these points more strongly than I would otherwise do, because it is observable that when inferior art is represented in publication it is generally made *worse* than it really is; and, when the style of art is tolerably good, it becomes flattered by the artist into perfection. Of all principles the most pernicious is to make bad worse. The flattering style is also dangerous, as the original when really seen comes to be despised, and too often set aside and neglected,—the case of the flattering portrait and Anne of Cleves. Governor Pownal admires the countenance, and above all the expression, which he says is "of aspect stern, yet open as the day, φαιδρος τας οψεις. Just as Mercury is described in his character of Sol."[a] Now, although I do not subscribe

[a] Warner, page 75.

to the Governor's Greek or mythology, it is pleasant to see some opposition to Sir Henry Englefield's sweeping condemnation. The Governor's object is to prove that this head is "the serpentine or cherubic diadem which the Egyptians, Rhodians, and some other nations in the East, placed upon the head of the divine symbol of their god."

In Carter's description of his spirited plates,[a] he says :—

"In the centre of the shield is a strong resemblance of the head of Medusa, as it seems to be from the entwining serpents, the flowing hair, the wings above the ears, &c. There is likewise the appearance of whiskers and a beard, hence some doubt arises in respect to the above conjecture; but perhaps the sculptor added whiskers by way of giving a more terrific look to the head; the hair upon the upper lip and chin may be no more than the flowing extremities of the hair from the head; be that as it may, the original meaning of such marks cannot be ascertained."

Mr. Carter's own drawing contradicts the opinion of the hair upon the lip proceeding from any other direction.

In mentioning this head as occupying the centre of a shield he is more correct than Englefield[b] or Lysons,[c] who both call it a patera. A note, however, added by Mr. Britton to a recent edition of Carter (1838), says, "This was unquestionably intended to represent the ægis of Minerva."

We are not, as yet, quite certain that the central head does represent Medusa; and, although the Gorgon's head is often seen in the centre of Minerva's shield, it still more frequently appears upon the ægis, but the ægis is quite distinct from the shield, and of very different character from that of the sculpture before us.

The ægis was originally a goat-skin, and when Jupiter was contending with the Titans he was directed to wear it, with the head of the Gorgon.[d] Homer designates Jupiter by the title of Ægis-bearing, Αιγιοχος; and from this circumstance the goat-skin became the mantle or paludamentum of the Roman emperors, and the Medusa's head at last degenerated into a fibula or button, with which the cloak was fastened on the right shoulder. The Roman emperors, in the character of Jupiter, wore the ægis, as seen upon the splendid cameo of the Emperor Rudolf, now at Vienna.[e] But we are more accustomed to see the ægis in connection with

[a] Pl. ix page 9.

[b] Archæologia, vol. X. page 332.

[c] Lysons, page 2.

[d] Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, s. v. Ægis, col. b.

[e] Eckhel, Choix des Pierres gravées, pl. 1. A striking example of the combination of the scaled ægis with Roman Imperial armour may be seen in a bronze statue of a youth found at Pompeii in 1824. The head of Medusa, surrounded by snakes upon the scales, is extremely beautiful.—Mus. Bor. vol. 5. tav. 36.

Minerva: she wore it in various shapes and ways, frequently as a skin, covered with small scales and fringed with serpents, and sometimes as a band, very often as a cape round the neck, fastened in front with the Gorgon's head. This we may observe, that, when the goddess is fully armed, the Medusa's head never appears upon the ægis and buckler also. There are abundant examples of the Gorgon's head occupying the centre of her shield, but it was not so in the celebrated statue by Phidias in the Parthenon, and is probably not to be found in the earlier specimens of art in that position. We do find it so placed on the coins of Antiochus, Philip, Antigonus of Pergamus, and upon numerous Roman bas-reliefs. One form of the Gorgon's head appears upon copies of Roman sculpture and pseudo-antiques, which deserves a caution: it is the distorted countenance of a beautiful female, bristling with snakes, and her mouth wide open, as if screaming to the utmost extent. This is not antique, and certainly not in accordance with the taste of the early Greek artists. They represented the Gorgon hideous, with terrific teeth and something of a fiendish grin upon the countenance; the tongue also was made to protrude; as may be seen not only upon painted vases, but upon numerous coins, both Greek and of the Roman families. During the more refined period of art the hideousness was set aside, and a type "severe in youthful beauty" was adopted. A curious instance of a Medusa head, with the tongue protruding, occurs on the large round shield of a statue of Minerva, found in this country, and now in the possession of the Duke of Bedford.

Examples of the pseudo-treatment of Medusa may be seen in Causeus' Museum Romanum, sectio 1, Gemm. Ant. tab. 57, page 39; in Santi Bartoli's engraving from the frieze in the forum of Nerva, pl. 41, Admiranda, where the shield is a restoration of the engraver. The screaming head is also seen in Spence's Polymetis, plate 41, No. 2.

The illustrious Raphael has introduced the same type in his grand picture, the Cycle of Philosophy, commonly called the School of Athens.

Michael Angelo da Caravaggio has bestowed the utmost effect that art could display in a similar treatment of the same subject.[a] The picture now in the Gallery of the Uffizj at Florence is painted upon a convex surface, and it is a true observation that "as you turn the eyes appear to follow you."

The same gallery contains another modern example of Medusa, by Lionardo da Vinci.[b] The great painter has here adopted a truly poetical treatment: the head, severed from the body, lies neglected on a desert waste; the back part turned toward the spectator, so that all may gaze with impunity (mark the contrast to Caravaggio); the mouth is evidently open, but from this point of view

[a] Gal. di Fir. vol. ii. tav 55.

[b] Ib. vol. iii. tav. 128.

not disagreeable. The last breath, like a dense cloud of steam, is seen issuing forth, and venomous reptiles and creatures of darkness are approaching, not for prey but eager curiosity, and only held back by fear, whilst the faintest symptom of life remains. The eyes, although averted and foreshortened, are terrific to behold; but the main part of the picture—because nearest in front—is the serpents, who still seem writhing, and exhibit every variety of exhaustion and suffering. Some are already dead, others stretched along lifeless in all but their head, others spending their last passion in violent contortions, and two seem to meditate a revengeful attack upon the now sightless eyeballs of the pale and beautiful countenance. But all are dying. For poetry and accurate imitation of nature this picture well merits the praise and admiration so frequently awarded to it.[a]

To return to our subject: the ægis and shield of Minerva were very distinct, and there can be little doubt that this is a shield of the large round clipeus form, supported by figures of Victory—of which a hand is seen at the right side, in the same manner as appears on the reverse of a large gold coin of Constantine, and on a medallion of Antoninus. Between the head and the rim of the shield are two circles or wreaths of leaves and berries, or rather oakleaves and acorns. These have no direct reference to Minerva, and are certainly not olive-branches, as some writers have described them to be.

I cannot believe this head to be Medusa; nor the Sun, as a friend of Sir Henry Englefield suggested; the latter opinion I think is set aside by the fact that the sun was represented in the same building, according to the well-known classic type, in a conspicuous position, corresponding with a figure of Luna, that we may examine hereafter. We shall probably find that this head is the symbol of the Hot Spring, and that the double wreath refers to oak-groves, which may have surrounded the locality, thus in some degree perpetuating the old Celtic places of veneration. This mode of treatment has abundant precedent on coins, those of Sicily especially. Giants—those who shook the earth and were connected with subterraneous fire[b]—were represented winged, and displayed in their forms combination with serpents, so that there is less ground for so strong an adherence to the opinion that this must be a Gorgon.

Male bearded heads often appear upon coins and gems with birds' wings at the temples; and long flowing locks generally indicate the abundant streams of a river-god or fountain-head. A male figure, with wings on his forehead and at his back, occurs in the so-called Mars and Sylvia painting at Pompeii. (Raoul Rochette, Monumens Inédits, pl. 9.) A venerable bearded figure has wings simi-

[a] The same city contains another celebrity of this subject, namely, the bronze statue of Perseus with the head of Medusa by Benvenuto Cellini.

[b] Iliad II. lines 780–5.

larly disposed upon a bas-relief in the Palazzo Albani. (See Zoega, Bassi-relievi, vol. ii., tav. 93.) A dignified bearded head, crowned with asphodel, has wings at the temples,[a] and resembles a type well known upon Roman coins[b] of the Titia family. In all these cases the wings are bird-like; but in the celebrated painting of Mars and Sylvia, from the baths of Titus,[c] a similar figure has butterfly-wings, such as Psyche is always represented with; but he has no wings to his back; a combination, however, of birds' wings at the forehead, and butterfly wings at the back of a bearded old man, may be found on the celebrated sarcophagus of the Capitoline Museum at Rome. (Mori, Museo Capitolino, vol. ii. tavola 6, page 28.)

All these examples given are personifications of the god Morpheus. The winds also were represented winged, particularly on the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes at Athens. (See Stuart's Athens, vol. i. pl. 14.) Boreas sometimes with doubled wings. (Hirt. Bilderbuch, taf. 18, No. 2.) He is described on the chest of Cypselus as having serpent-feet. *βορεας εστιν ἡρπακως Ωρειθυιαν, ουραι δε οφεων αντι ποδων εισιν αυτῳ.* Pausanias, lib. v. cap. 19. The giant Typhœus was represented also with wings. (See Hirt. Bilderbuch, taf. 18, No. 4.) And it would be almost endless to particularise the representations of giants where the human form terminates in a double serpent; I shall only name a sarcophagus in the Vatican, displaying a bas-relief of the Titans struggling against the gods, which, although it is made to appear excellent art in the Museo Pio-Clementino, by Signor Visconti, is, in reality, a miserable specimen of workmanship, considering that it belonged to the great metropolis, and is not at all superior to the work we have been examining from Bath.[d]

Perseus was often represented in ancient art with wings attached to a helmet, or springing from the head. He generally wears the Talaria or wings at his heels, and not unfrequently has wings on the head as well as feet. (See bas-relief in the Capitol at Rome, Museum Capitolinum, vol. vi. tav. 52; Mori, Museo Capitolino; and Crystal Palace Catalogue, Greek Court, No. 35; Mus. Bor. vol. xii. tav. 52.) The type was even preserved in Anglo-Saxon times, as seen in

[a] Millin, Gall. Myth. No. 352, pl. 13.

[b] Guigniaut, Nouvelle Galerie, pl. 142, No. 334.

[c] Ponce, Thermes de Titus, pl. No. 29.

[d] Mus. Pio Clem., vol. iv. tav. 10; Pistolesi, vol. v. tav. 26; Crystal Palace Catalogue, Greek Court, No. 126. Similar figures occur in pl. 4, vol. ii., of Atlas to the Annali dell' Instituto di Roma; Pistolesi, vol. iv. tav. 94; Oesterley's Denkmäler, part ii. pl. 21, figs. 231, 232, and pl. 22, fig. 242; Raspe's Catalogue of Tassie's Gems, pl. 26, No. 1753; pl. 19, No. 986; pl. 20, Nos. 1001, 995, 991, and 992. Museo Borbonico, vol. i. tav. 53. Millin, Gall. Myth. Nos. 52, 114, 128, and 122. Guigniaut, Nouvelle Galerie, pl. 92, Nos. 338, 356; pl. 93, No. 338a.

a MS. marked Tiberius, B. v. in the British Museum. The illumination occurs on page 34. A Mercury among the Pompeian paintings has wings growing from the head as well as feet. (Pitture d'Ercolano, vol. vii. tav. 19, page 89.)[a]

The flowing Streams, personified with ample locks, have often dolphins or river-fish mingled with them, sometimes heads of horses, and very frequently vine-leaves and panthers. See, for example, the lamp in Museum Romanum of Causeus, vol. ii. No. 18, which has a bold head, with horns, dolphins, and horses' heads, falsely attributed to Pan. The rise of the river Hipparis is beautifully represented on coins of Camarina as a youthful head, with horns, accompanied with fish, rising as it were encompassed with a pool of water. Many valuable remarks connected with these subjects will be found in Mr. Watkiss Lloyd's Essay on Greek Chorographical Coins, published in the Numismatic Chronicle, 14th June, 1848, where he shows the various ways in which the geographical situation of the personified object was indicated.

I must confess myself strongly impressed with the belief that this central head, instead of being a Gorgon, is a personification of the celebrated Hot Spring itself, that the abundant curls pertain to the flowing streams, and that the wings relate to the fleeting nature of the Bath waters, which, from their intense heat, evaporate rapidly. The fleeting and evanescent nature of dreams is in the same manner symbolized by wings upon the head of Morpheus, and wings are also seen attached to chariot-wheels, although, in themselves, the latter indicate rapid motion.[b]

Sleep and Death are also represented with wings,[c] when transporting Sarpedon from the battle-field to his native home; and Aurora carrying off Memnon is similarly provided; the last three instances relating distinctly to transit through the air. A fleeting shower was impersonated with wings, as Jupiter Pluvius upon the column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome.[d]

Thetis, in a cylix of the Museum Gregorianum, when embraced by Peleus, is represented with a winged band on her forehead.[e] This seems to indicate the power she possessed to elude by changing suddenly from one shape to another.

The Winds were frequently represented as bearded heads with birds' wings, and

[a] Wings spring from the head also of Etruscan marine deities. See Guigniaut, Nouvelle Galerie, pl. 155, fig. 589 a, 591 c, and 592 a; and Dennis' Etruria, title-page, vol. i.

[b] See sculpture upon the lid of the Paiafa Tomb in the Lycian Saloon of the British Museum, No. 142.

[c] See Archæologia, vol. XXIX. Pl. 16, essay by Mr. Birch upon a Canino vase in the British Museum; and Overbeck, Abbildungen zur Gallerie Heroischer Bildwerke, taf. 22, No. 14.

[d] Engraved in Bartoli, Columna Antonini, tav. 15, and Hirt. Bilderbuch, taf. 18, No. 5.

[e] Mon. dell' Instituto, Atlas 1832, tav. 37. Overbeck, taf. 8, No 4.

the type has been continued as late as Anglo-Saxon times, and may be seen on pp. 16 and 69 of the famous Harleian MS. No. 603, now in the British Museum.

Pursuing the chorographical view, the locality of the hot spring at Bath is in a deep valley or rather basin of hills, and totally different in situation from all other Roman towns; but this may be accounted for by considering that the origin of the town was for salutary purposes, and not for defence.

Therefore, on the above principle, the great shield forming the centre of this pediment may prove to be a basin, such as collected the waters as they rose, and in this respect the actual shape of the sculpture would be favourable, for the space between the circles and all round the head is deeply concave, whilst all bucklers that I remember in ancient art partake of the opposite form, convex.

Having thrown out these hints and done all I can to oppose the interpretation of this head as a Medusa—in which I am happy to acknowledge the confirmation and encouragement of my friend Mr. Burgon—it remains for us to glance at other portions of this sculpture.

At the left hand lower corner is a helmet of a very peculiar and unclassic shape, done with so little intelligence of construction as to cast a suspicion over the antique genuineness of the whole composition, but for the well-authenticated circumstances under which they were discovered.[a] On the right-hand side above is part of an arm with a bracelet, and lower down a tolerably well executed hand holding a wreath, evidently belonging to a flying Victory, which we shall consider presently, for a smaller object below claims prior attention. It is the hand of a child holding an owl by the wing. Here we must acknowledge an emblem of Minerva, and of Night also. The helmet *alone* may be regarded as allusive to Mars, and in early instances reminding us of the invisible helmet of Pluto. The helmet, as symbolizing Mars, would have been an appropriate allusion in a Roman colony, and the owl of Minerva especially appropriate in connection with a building devoted to the healing deities. It may not be inappropriate to quote here a passage from a very late Greek author, Proclus, who, on account of the date at which he flourished (he died A.D. 485), may be the more to our purpose:—

Ἡ ΑΘΗΝΑ ΝΙΚΗ *προσαγορευεται και* ΥΓΙΕΙΑ, *τον μεν νουν κρατειν ποιουσα της αναγκης, και το ειδος της ὑλης, ὁλον δἀιει και τελειον, και αγηρων, και ἀνοσον διαφυλαττουσα το παν, οικειον συν της του θεου ταυτης, και το αναγεῖν, και μερἰζειν, και δια της νοερας χορειας συναπτειν τοις θειοτεροις, και ενἵδρυειν και φρουρειν εν αυτοις.*

[a] The adoption of classic types, and ignorance of the original forms, can only be paralleled by examples of Anglo-Saxon art in MSS.

This Taylor translates[a] as follows :—

Minerva is called *Victory* and *Health;* the former because she causes intellect to rule over necessity, and form over matter ; and the latter, because she preserves the universe perpetually whole, perfect, exempt from age, and free from disease. It is the property therefore of this goddess to elevate and distribute, and through an intellectual dance, as it were, to connect, establish, and defend, inferior natures in such as are more divine.

A fragment of the flying Victory is seen on the left: the folds of the drapery are well arranged, better a great deal than on the Victories of the arch of Constantine at Rome. The forms of the feathers are particularly well observed, and have not been done justice to in Lysons's engraving. This portion is not shewn in the woodcut on page 190.

A parallel arrangement to this sculpture is to be seen at the entrance to the Library of Durham Cathedral, engraved in Carter, plate xi. fig. j: it was found at Lanchester; each Victory stands on a globe, and has a shield, of the Pelta form, on her arm. The circles upon the globe belonging to the right-hand Victory of our sculptures (omitted in the accompanying woodcut) are to be seen also on paintings at Pompeii, engraved in the Museo Borbonico, vol. vii. tav. 55. They occur besides on the gold coins of Augustus, and are carefully observed on the globe of the celebrated Farnese Atlas, now in the Museum of Naples.[b] See also engraved gems published in the Chev. E. Gerhard's Archemorus Vase, Berlin, 1836. A globe encircled by a band containing the signs of the zodiac appears in a Pompeian painting. Pitture d'Ercolano, vol. vii. p. 11.

The other sculptures, which seem to have occupied two circles set in smaller pediments, arranged probably on each side of the larger, represented, in one, the Sun, in the other Luna or Selene.[c] The bust of the latter only, in a medallion, is preserved; she is seen full-face, with the crescent, not on her forehead, but behind her head, gracefully filling up the circular space.[d] The right shoulder is bare; on the left side is her whip (see Mus. Bor., vol. xiv. tav. 3), and her hair is tied in a knot over her forehead, in accordance with other classic representations

[a] Taylor's Notes to Pausanias, vol. iii. page 242.

[b] The Atlas is engraved in Spence's Polymetis, plate 33; Mus. Bor. vol. v. tav. 52; and Hirt. Bilderbuch, plate 16, fig. 1.

[c] Carter, pl. 9, figs. A and C ; Lysons, pl. 6, No. 1.

[d] This position of the crescent appears to be of Phrygian origin. It is seen on coins combined with the male Deus Lunus in Phrygian costume; but a beautiful profile bust of Artemis Selene is thus combined with the crescent on a round altar in the Louvre. (See Bouillon, tom. iii. pl. 69; and Winckelmann, Mon. Ined. No. 21.) The crescent also appears behind her head as she descends with a torch to Endymion in a Pompeian painting. Mus. Bor. vol. xiv. tav. 19.)

of the virgin goddess. Of the medallion of the Sun only some portions of the rays are left, but their arrangement, and the space they occupy, render it improbable that they exceeded seven in number;[a] and the remaining edge of the medallion-frame corresponds in size with that of the Moon or Selene. A standing figure of Apollo, with seven rays, holding a whip in the right hand, and a globe, *encircled*, in the left, was found among the paintings at Pompeii.[b] This fragment of the Sun is engraved in Lysons, pl. 9, fig. 6, and he describes it on page 8 as "a fragment too much mutilated to lead to any probable conjecture concerning them." Carter, on the other hand, at once recognises "the rays of the sun." (Plate 9, fig. A.)

A star is also represented on the adjoining fragment in Lysons, No. 9. This Carter unfortunately gives under fig. B, with the explanation "a representation of the sun."

I must now take leave of my subject, but not without expressing a hope that others who have more leisure and learning may pursue the subject; even the architectural arrangement of the Temple itself, with the elaborate ornamentation of the columns and entablature, would afford a most interesting subject for an essay. Many sculptural fragments pertaining to the same building also claim attention; they refer to the various seasons of the year,[c] and thus serve to extend the cosmical nature of the decorations. From the residence of the celebrated architect Adams and others upon the spot, few excavations have been so carefully noted at the time, and the antiquary may rejoice at having so much satisfactory data to work upon.

G. S.

February 8, 1855.

[a] Compare a head of Helios or the Sun, in the Rondanini Palace, and a bust in the Capitol at Rome. Bouillon, vol. i. pl. 75; Crystal Palace Catalogue, Greek Court, No. 394. The head of the Sun appears on various coins of Rhodes, and a full-length statue of the same deity is preserved in the Louvre, formerly in the Palazzo Borghese. Seven rays also spring from the head of the painted figure. (Mus. Bor. vol. vii. tav. 55.)

[b] Mus. Bor. vol. vii. tav. 55.

[c] Carter, pl. 10.

XIX. *Account of Silver Rings and Coins discovered near Worcester. By* John Yonge Akerman, *Secretary.*

Read November 23, 1854.

At the close of the last session, I was favoured with a communication, of which the following is an extract, from Jabez Allies, Esq., F.S.A.

"Tivoli House, Cheltenham, 14th June, 1854.

"My dear Sir,

"There has been a find of about 215 silver pennies, also four rings set with gems, a ring twisted like a wreath, a ring with crosses on it, and a gimmal ring (at least one with a hand like a gimmal ring), and a brooch double-wreathed, with a tongue something like what I saw when young in peasants' shirts, to keep the two parts together at the breast.

"All these coins and articles are silver; they were found near Lark Hill, within about a mile of Worcester, upon making a drain, and were all in a lump together, and probably had been wrapped in a coarse piece of cloth, as there were fragments of the kind about them.

"Some of the pennies are cut in half, and others in four parts, I presume to answer as halfpence and farthings. I have sent sealing-wax impressions of five of the coins, and have to request you will kindly let me know to what monarch they belong. My opinion is, they are of Henry I. or Henry II.

"Supposing that one of the rings is a "gimmal ring," it appears to carry that device much further back than it is in Hone's "Table-Book," part II., p. 1. I had a very hurried view of the batch at the finder's yesterday, but if you think the matter worth further investigation, I will send you either further sketches, or try and get you a sight of the relics. I presume the gems in the rings are crystals.

"I am, &c.,

"J. Allies."

Conceiving that an account of this discovery could not fail to be of interest to the Society, I replied immediately to this letter, and at my request Mr. Allies kindly obtained the whole bulk of the coins and rings, and forwarded them for my

inspection. They have since been ceded to the British Museum by the finder; but, previously to their delivery, with the sanction of the Executive Committee, I had drawings made of the rings and such of the coins as would serve to fix the date of the deposit of this hoard. This drawing I now lay before the Society. From this it will be seen that the find consisted of five finger-rings, one twisted ring, and a brooch, besides 209 coins in silver and billon. They may be enumerated as follows:—

191 silver pennies of the first mintage of Henry II.
1 „ of David I. King of Scotland.
8 Deniers of St. Martin of Tours. Duby, vol. i. p. 71, plate xvi.
8 „ of Hugh fifth Count of Anjou. Duby, vol. ii. plate lxxii.
1 „ of Melle.
1 „ of Odo Duke of Burgundy. Duby, vol. i. fig. 2, plate l.; who assigns it to the fourth duke of that name, but it more probably belongs to the second (A.D. 1142-63).
The half of a penny of Eustace Count of Boulogne.

The rings are—

Fig. 1. A finger-ring of silver, with a square bezel, in which is set an amethyst cut *en cabochon*.

Fig. 2. Another ring of similar form, but of larger size, set with a transparent crystal, cut as the last.

Fig. 3. Another ring of silver, similar in form to the preceding, set with a transparent yellow paste.

Fig. 4. A gimmel ring of silver, formed of two hands clasped. This has been broken into two parts.

Fig. 5. A thin flat silver finger-ring, ornamented in front with a cluster of quatrefoils between two crosses pattée. The lines are filled in with niello.

Fig. 6. A ring formed of thick silver wire, twisted together, and resembling what have been called torc rings.

A similar object in gold was found at Soberton, with coins of Edward the Confessor. (Journal of the Arch. Institute, vol. viii. p. 100.)

Fig. 7. A ring-brooch formed of twisted silver wire, and with a flat acus.

The coins represented in the Plate are:—

Fig. 8. The half and fourth of a penny of Henry II.

Fig. 9. The half of a coin of Eustace Count of Boulogne.

As the last of the four counts of this name, namely Eustace son of Stephen, was contemporary with our Henry II. (A.D. 1154-89), this probably belongs to him. The type is a variety, but the coin to which it bears the closest analogy is given in Duby, vol. ii. plate lxxiv. fig. 5.

Fig. 10. A penny of Henry II., bearing the king's head, full-faced, with a sceptre in the right hand, surmounted by a cross pattée.

Fig. 11. A billon denier of Odo Duke of Burgundy, struck at Dijon. Obverse: ODO : DVX : BVRG : DIE. Reverse: DIVIONENSIS.

Fig. 12. Obverse of a silver penny of David I., King of Scotland, imperfectly struck on both sides.

It should be added, that with the fragments of the linen cloth, or purse, in which this hoard was found, were the remains of wax, as though the whole had been carefully sealed up previously to its being deposited.

J. Y. AKERMAN

November 20, 1854.

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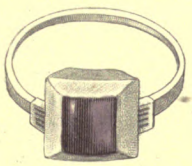

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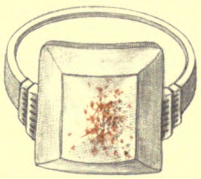

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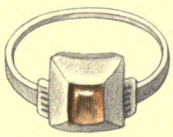

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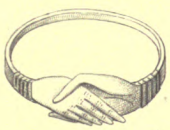

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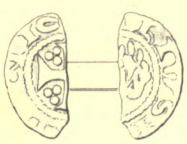

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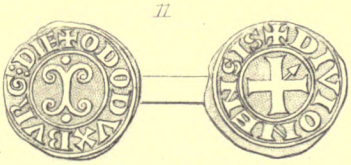


12

SILVER RINGS AND COINS FOUND NEAR WORCESTER.

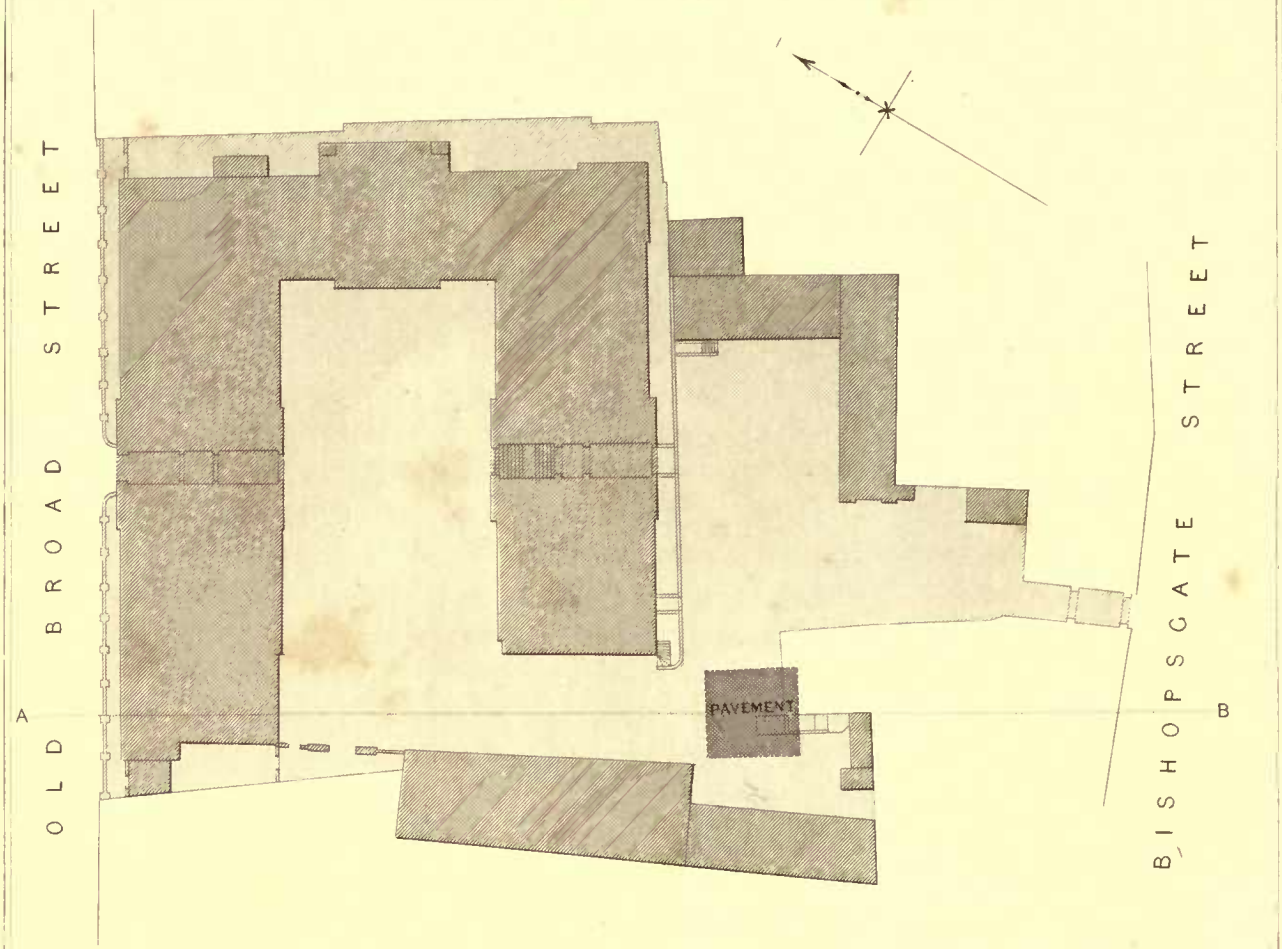
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 1855.

J. Basire. del. et sc.

PLAN OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE EXCISE OFFICE.

shewing the Site and Comparative Dimensions of the

ROMAN PAVEMENT, DISCOVERED IN FEBRUARY 1854.



SECTION ON THE LINE A. B.

HORIZONTAL SCALE FOR PLAN AND SECTION

0 10 20 30 40 50 100 200 FEET

J. Basire sc.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 13th April 1855.

XX. *An Account of the Discovery of a Tessellated Pavement, 10th Feb.* 1854, *under the Vaults of the South-Eastern Area of the late Excise Office; by* WILLIAM TITE, *Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A., in a Letter to* FREDERIC OUVRY, *Esq. Treasurer.*

Read 15 June, 1854.

42, Lowndes Square, 17 April, 1854.

DEAR SIR,

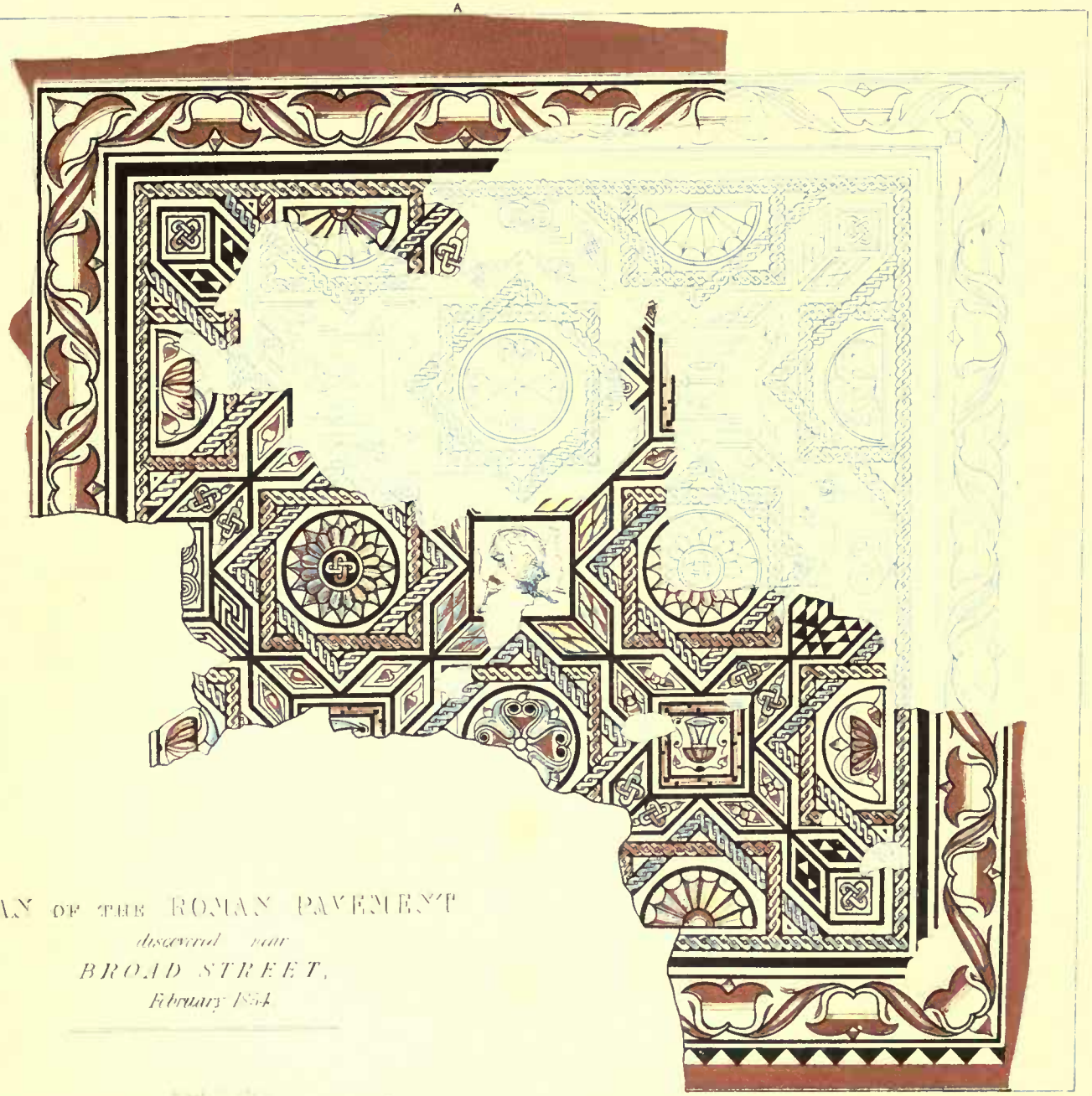
I have the honour to forward for the consideration of the Society of Antiquaries a Drawing of the Tessellated Pavement recently found between Bishopsgate Street and Broad Street, under the vaults of the south-eastern area of the late Excise Office. A small plan which accompanies the drawing (Pl. XVIII.), will show the exact position of the pavement itself, relatively to the adjoining street and to the buildings of the Excise Office. It is a commonly received opinion, that the late Government edifice occupied the site of the house and premises of Sir Thomas Gresham *only;* and it may be therefore convenient to explain that subsequently to the purchase by the Government from the trustees of Sir Thomas Gresham of the buildings of Gresham College, in 1768,[a] they bought an inn adjoining southward, called the Sun; and these two premises together constituted the area of the late Excise Office. I cannot exactly define the boundary of the two properties, but I have no doubt that the site of this pavement was under the Sun inn portion of it, and did not form any part of the land purchased of the Gresham trustees. In removing the Excise Offices we began from Threadneedle Street, and in taking up the foundations of the main buildings, nothing of any interest was found; but, as we proceeded towards Bishopsgate Street, it was evident that we were approaching foundations and remains that were of a much earlier con-

[a] "On the 17th March the City Members, attended by Mr. Dance, the surveyor, waited on the Lords of the Treasury with a plan of the ground on which Gresham College stood, with a view to the converting that ancient and almost useless building into an Excise Office; the building in the Old Jewry then made use of being found too small and inconvenient for that purpose. At a Court of Common Council held on the 22nd of May, it was resolved to agree with the proposal of government for the purchase, in order to erect the Excise Office on the spot." Noorthouck's *New History of London*, 1773, pp. 439, 440. See also Stat. 8 Geo. III. c. 32.

struction. We then encountered an extensive series of arched vaults, mostly built of brickwork of about the middle of the seventeenth century; but below these there were flat arches of chalk-rubble and foundations of the same character, that probably were as old as the fifteenth century. These foundations ceased at a depth of 12 or 13 feet from the level of Bishopsgate Street. The walls were generally founded on a bed of coarse concrete, about a foot in thickness. On removing this, however, the native soil was not reached; and it was apparent that below this level the ground had been disturbed. In this ground first appeared traces of Roman remains, in very imperfect fragments of pottery and glass of doubtful origin, with a few coins, and fragments of Roman mortar and concrete. Particular directions were then given to the workmen to proceed cautiously, and to examine the earth and rubbish with great care. Nothing however was discovered, excepting a silver coin of Hadrian, until the morning of the 10th February, 1854, when one of the workmen, in digging a hole somewhat deeper than the other excavations for a scaffold-pole, came upon a fragment of this Tessellated Pavement. Instructions were immediately given to clear out the whole space with the greatest caution, and also to follow every trace of the pavement so far as our ground extended. The great quantity of vaults and arching, however, over this part of the building, led to considerable delay as well as to some expense in preventing damage to the very interesting remains which we were thus gradually uncovering. The Section attached to the small Plan will show the exact depth of this fragment from the present surface.

The Pavement itself (Pl. XIX.) was constructed in the following manner:—the earth having been cleared away and levelled down to the natural clay and gravel, a bed of coarse concrete was laid about six inches thick. This concrete was composed of river-ballast and lime, with occasional pieces of broken and pounded brick; and on this coarse substratum a bed of very hard mortar or cement was laid, about an inch in thickness, and perfectly level. I should suppose that this mortar was composed of about two parts of clean sharp sand, one part of pounded bricks or tiles, and one part of lime; the whole mass of which must have been well beaten together and consolidated. This formed the bed for the tesseræ, which were generally of an uniform thickness, of the usual dimensions of about half an inch square, and set in fine mortar. It is well known to antiquaries that the Romans had two methods of constructing these floors. One was laid simply upon the native earth; the other was placed on short piers supporting tiles and concrete, forming the floor called "*Suspensura*," which had an interval beneath.[a] It has

[a] Vitruvius *De Architectura*, lib. vii. c. i. lib. x. c. v.



PLAN OF THE ROMAN PAVEMENT

discovered near

BROAD STREET,

February 1854

been sometimes supposed that the latter mode of flooring was used in floors and rooms of the higher class only; but from my own experience I am disposed to think that the Roman builders were usually guided by the character of the soil, and if, as in this case, it was gravel or well-drained earth, they altogether avoided the additional expense of a floor constructed on *pilæ*. The Pavement thus discovered constituted the floor of a room 28 feet square. On the side, at the point marked A, there were some traces of wall-plastering; but, though we searched with the greatest care, there was not any trace *in situ*, nor near it, of any walls, flues, or Roman bricks. Every fragment had disappeared; and even this trace of wall-plastering had nothing behind it but loamy earth. The only additional fact requiring to be noticed connected with the construction of the Pavement itself, is one which is of equal interest and rarity: namely, that in some places it had evidently been mended in the Roman times, but by an inferior hand, and the tesseræ introduced in those places were whiter and in general colour did not quite coincide with the older work. The pattern, however, had been carefully preserved and restored. I think it probable that we shall find further traces of pavements as we proceed northwards: for there is a tradition in the neighbourhood that in digging a well under a house in Bishopsgate Street in that direction, at about 13 feet from the surface, some remains of a pavement were found.[a]

In reflecting on this discovery and its connection with Roman London, a few remarks collaterally illustrative of the subject will perhaps be allowed me. A work so finished as this pavement, evidently points out a period of security and comparative wealth in the inhabitants; and such a period may doubtless be found in the reign of Hadrian, to which the silver coin found on this floor also belongs. Hadrian began to reign in A. D. 117, about one hundred and seventy years after Cæsar's landing in Britain, and died in A. D. 138.[b] For thirty years previously to his accession there is no notice whatever in the Roman historians of any important transactions in Britain: but in A. D. 120 Hadrian visited this island, settled its affairs, and caused the great wall to be built, to divide, as Spartianus says, the barbarians from the Romans.[c] This interval of tranquillity appears also to have continued for many years afterwards, certainly until the middle of the

[a] This expectation has been partly realised, because northwards of this pavement we have found the floor of a room paved with dark red tesseræ The pavement was about 12 feet square; the tesseræ uniform in size, being about 17 inches square. I still expect to find further remains to the north-east; but the old buildings cannot be at present removed.—March, 1855.

[b] Horsley's "Britannia Romana," book i. chap. 4. pp. 49, 50.

[c] Vit. Hadriani in Script. Hist. Ang.

reign of Marcus Aurelius, about A. D. 170; and it was doubtless during this period that the mansion or merchant's house was erected which stood on the site now under consideration.

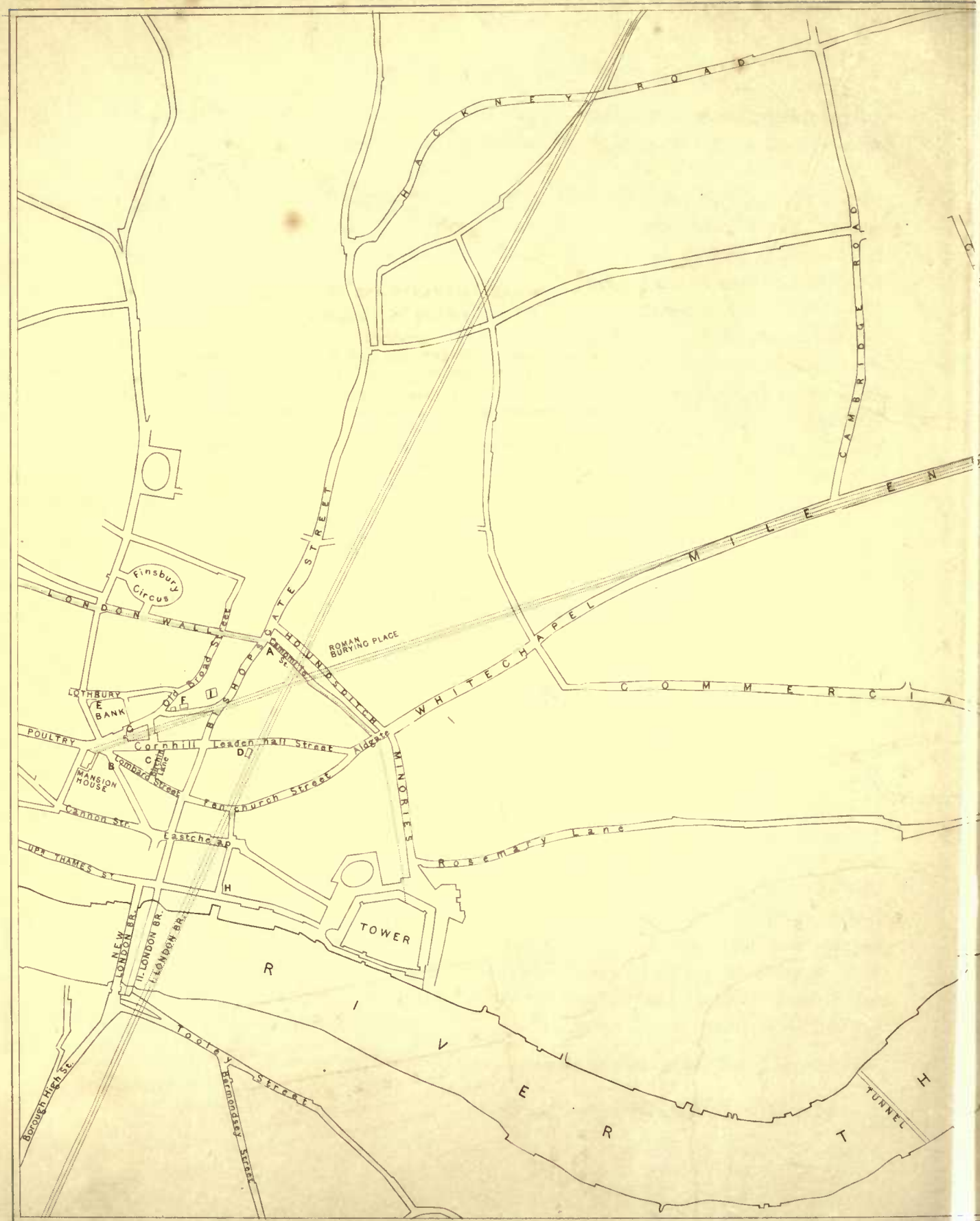
I should here remind you that the nature of that site is very peculiar. It may be in your recollection that in passing from Bishopsgate Street to Broad Street, through the late Excise Office, there was a descent of twenty steps, giving a difference of level of about ten feet between the two streets. This difference of level was no doubt always greatest at this particular point; but the same general features may still be traced in the continuing high level of Bishopsgate Street, and the comparatively low level of Old and New Broad Street, Throgmorton Street, and Lothbury, down to the line of the Wall Brook, which at that point was 30 feet below the present level of the ground.[a] This Roman house, therefore, in my opinion stood on a gravelly bank; and the pavement was itself level with the ground at the back. In the front of the house the ground was probably considerably higher, and was the Roman Causeway that passed through the City Wall about 330 yards to the north, and then through the Roman cemetery which we know to have existed in Spitalfields. The road was then continued in a direct line to the fords over the Lea between Stratford and Ilford, and about the spot which is regarded as the Roman Station "*Durolitum*," five miles from London. This road, as in the Appian Way at Rome, and the Street of the Tombs at Pompeii, was probably lined with the tombs of the Roman and British residents of London.

I have often attempted to connect these Roman pavements with some restoration of the main lines of thoroughfare of Roman London, but I have never hitherto succeeded to my own satisfaction. If I should be right in my present conjecture, I can now nearly associate this pavement with those tessellated remains which were found on the site of the French Church in Threadneedle Street, in 1839. I think, also, that I may offer a reasonable conjecture as to the course of one of the streets which led to the way described in the ninth Iter of Antonine.[b] The uniform tradition, and also the suggestion of Stukeley,[c] is that the site of the present Mansion House, formerly Stocks Market, was also the situation of the Roman Forum. A line drawn from that spot as a centre would pass the site of the buildings containing these tessellated pavements, and ultimately point to the "burial-place" in Spitalfields, and the great road to the eastern counties by Stratford and Chelmsford. After I had plotted this line on

[a] This is shewn in a Section of the Wall Brook in my possession, made by Mr. Richard Kelsey, the late Surveyor of Sewers of the City of London.

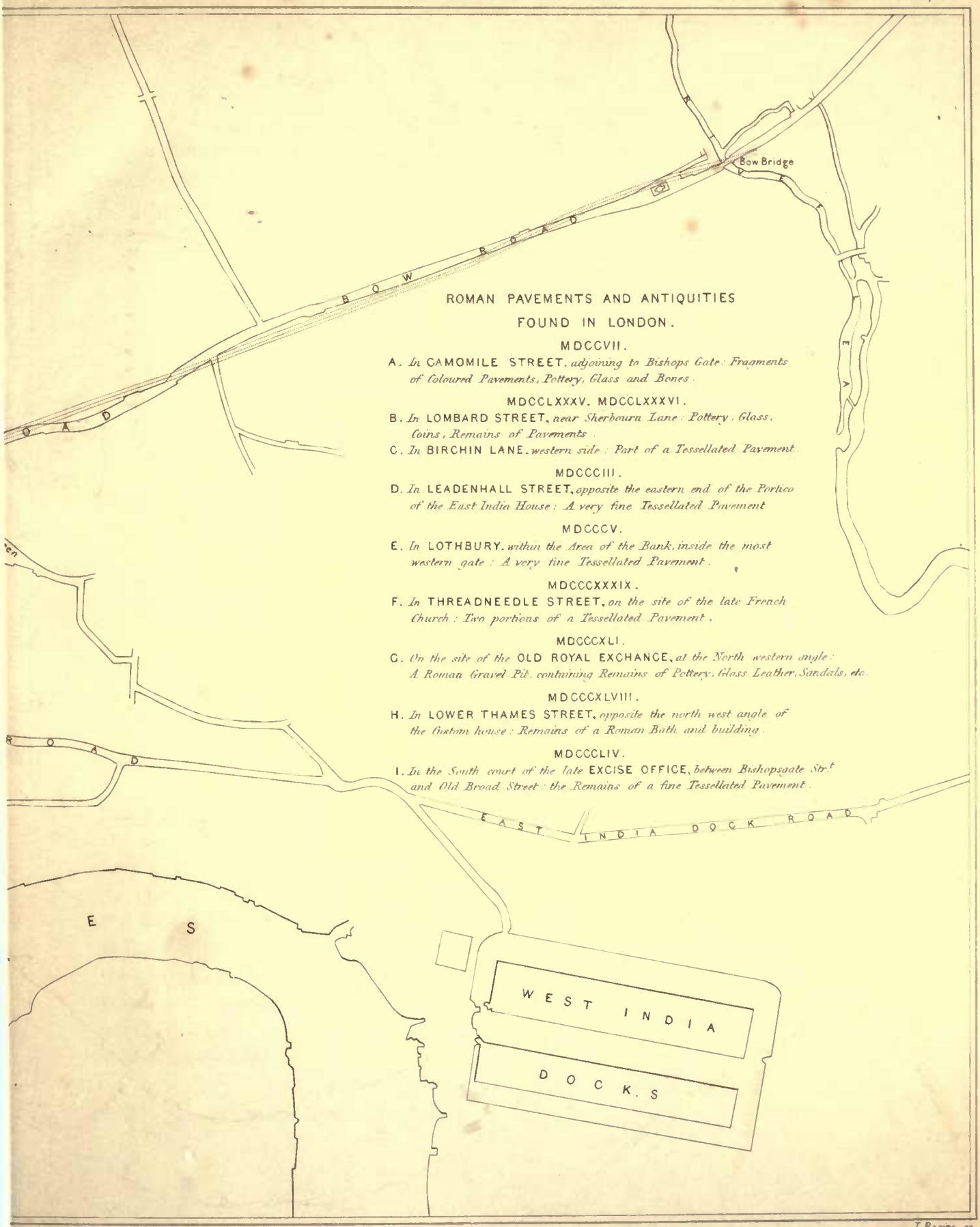
[b] Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 447.

[c] *Itinerarium Curiosum*, vol. i. plate 57; vol. ii. p. 12.



PLAN OF LONDON and its Vicinity to the South East, shewing the Lines

Published by the Society of



ROMAN PAVEMENTS AND ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN LONDON.

MDCCVII.

A. *In* CAMOMILE STREET. *adjoining to Bishops Gate: Fragments of Coloured Pavements, Pottery, Glass and Bones.*

MDCCLXXXV. MDCCLXXXVI.

B. *In* LOMBARD STREET, *near Sherboura Lane: Pottery, Glass, Coins, Remains of Pavements.*

C. *In* BIRCHIN LANE. *western side: Part of a Tessellated Pavement.*

MDCCCIII.

D. *In* LEADENHALL STREET, *opposite the eastern end of the Portico of the East India House: A very fine Tessellated Pavement*

MDCCCV.

E. *In* LOTHBURY. *within the Area of the Bank, inside the most western gate: A very fine Tessellated Pavement.*

MDCCCXXXIX.

F. *In* THREADNEEDLE STREET, *on the site of the late French Church: Two portions of a Tessellated Pavement.*

MDCCCXLI.

G. *On the site of the* OLD ROYAL EXCHANGE, *at the North western angle: A Roman Gravel Pit, containing Remains of Pottery, Glass Leather, Sandals, etc.*

MDCCCXLVIII.

H. *In* LOWER THAMES STREET, *opposite the north west angle of the Custom house: Remains of a Roman Bath and building.*

MDCCCLIV.

I. *In the South court of the late* EXCISE OFFICE, *between Bishopsgate Str.t and Old Broad Street: the Remains of a fine Tessellated Pavement.*

J. Basire, sc.

ROMAN ROADS, and their probable continuation in ROMAN LONDON.

London. 23rd April 1855.

the map, I was agreeably surprised to find, on a reference to Dr. Woodward's Letter to Sir Christopher Wren,[a] that some considerable remains had been also found exactly on that line, in the present Camomile Street; and further, that in Stukeley's map "the Romans' burying-place" is shown, outside the city wall, at that very point. These coincidences were curious and striking; but they become more so, when it is found that this same line prolonged is exactly consistent with that straight road to Chelmsford, which, beginning about five miles from London, continues in a direct course to that town. I am aware that in offering these conjectures I must disturb the plan of the present Bishop's Gate, and remove it further south; but Dr. Woodward proves that all the Roman work had been levelled with the ground in that quarter before the mediæval walls had been constructed. I am now, however, about to add another more extraordinary coincidence. If a line be drawn from Botolph Wharf, the oldest site of London Bridge, it will pass through the India House exactly at the spot where the finest tessellated pavement in London was found, in 1803, and will intersect the site of the wall exactly at the point to which the line leads that I have been now suggesting. In an Essay written by me in the year 1845, and prefixed to the Catalogue of Antiquities found in the excavations at the New Royal Exchange, I suggested the probable existence of such a highway, though I was still perplexed with Bishopsgate Street, which I then supposed to be an ancient road. I now feel satisfied, however, that none of the present street existed in Roman London; and that the great Ermin Way, which extended from the coast of Sussex to Lincoln, crossed the city east of the present line of thoroughfare, and probably in the route I am now suggesting. I feel it may be objected, that in these new lines of street I am entirely abandoning the ancient or existing thoroughfares; and that it would be reasonable to suppose, that notwithstanding the lapse of seventeen or eighteen centuries, and the constant destruction by fire, they might be fairly expected in the main to coincide with the present. To this all that I can answer is, that even in Rome itself, except the Forum and the "*Via Triumphalis*," no modern street is consistent with the ancient lines; and that even the Appian Way was given up at about six miles from Rome, ceasing in the Campagna, and a new road to Albano has been in use for centuries, notwithstanding the recent researches of Signor Canina having shown that the Appian Way not only existed, but that it required very little repair to constitute it again a "*Strada rotabile*."

[a] "A Letter occasioned by some Antiquities lately discovered near Bishop's Gate, London," in Hearne's Leland's Itinerary, vol. viii., at the end, sects. 8—10.

In the Essay which I have now referred to, prefixed to the Catalogue of Antiquities found at the Royal Exchange, and placed in the Library of the Corporation of London, I have given my reasons why, in my judgment, Roman London was not so important a place as its present greatness leads us to imagine, and there is nothing in the present pavement which induces me to alter that opinion. It is doubtless an elegant and an interesting work, but it is not better than those usually found in provincial towns, and very inferior in material as well as in style to the great remains of Roman magnificence of this kind which exist at Rome, and perhaps even to some found in England.[a] It is also a very remarkable fact, that no architectural remains of Roman London of any importance have ever been discovered. I use the word *ever* advisedly, because it is not difficult to show that for nearly 200 years the various excavations made within the walls have been under the inspection of competent and anxious inquirers, and yet nothing of any importance has occurred. Beginning with the great excavations of St. Paul's, Sir Christopher Wren was evidently desirous to discover and to care for Roman remains, but nothing was found. Again, he built fifty churches in the metropolis, and repaired many others; but in the course of all the excavations for these buildings we do not hear of any discovery, though Woodward was at hand making his collection and storing it with all the best remains of Roman antiquities disclosed amidst the clays and gravels of Spitalfields, where most of the bricks required for the rebuilding the city were made. It is quite true that Woodward urges Sir Christopher, in his letter, to publish his notes of what he had found; but the report itself, in the "*Parentalia*," literally describes nothing but the foundations of a causeway, and some Roman remains at Bow Church.[b] Sir Christopher Wren died Feb. 25, 1723, and Dr. Woodward, April 25, 1728.

The Society of Antiquaries was established in 1718, and in 1747 began to publish the Vetusta Monumenta; but in vain do we turn to those volumes, or to the memoirs of the Archæologia, commenced in 1779, for any notice of important Roman remains of edifices. In the meanwhile, the architectural remains at Bath and elsewhere show what has been found in other Roman cities,—doubtless then of far greater importance than London, though we have been taught to infer from our present metropolitan importance our former pre-eminent greatness. My own opportunities have accidentally been extremely great in this department of archæology; for in very early life I witnessed and watched the enormous

[a] Several very fine specimens of tessellated pavements found in England have been engraved by Messrs. W. Fowler and Samuel Lysons, in their well known and interesting publications.

[b] Sects. 5, 6, in Hearne's *Leland's Itinerary*, vol. viii. Wren's *Parentalia*, part ii. sect. i. p. 264.

excavations for the Custom House, and from that period down to almost the present time, scarcely a year has passed in which in the space between the Tower to London Bridge I have not had the foundations of large warehouses and other buildings under my personal inspection.

That the Romans built and occupied in this neighbourhood, is apparent from the discovery of the Roman hypocaust under the New Coal Exchange; but in the whole line thus referred to, occupying a length to the river of 1000 feet, and a mean width of 120 feet, the only Roman remains which occurred were a few coins and some fragments of pottery, rude embankments of timber without number, but no trace of Roman architecture. The ancient foundations rooted up in this immense space furnished evidence of Roman bricks mixed with chalk and ragstone, and occasional architectural fragments of mediæval dates; but, excepting Roman bricks and tiles, I have never seen, neither here nor at the Exchange, nor anywhere in the City, any fragment of stone having the impress of a Roman character.

In the summer of 1853, the excavations on the north side of the Tower on Tower Hill showed *in situ* distinct remains of Roman work in part of the inclosure wall of Roman London on that side. Here the wall was composed of square tiles, with that very thick joint and accurate bend for which Roman builders were remarkable; and this piece of work might have been executed within the compass of "The Seven Hills;" but, excepting this brickwork, the Roman hypocaust in Thames Street, and the pavements uncovered in various places, I have never seen any Roman work which I felt sure of. It may be answered, that London was often sacked and burned; but still Roman edifices of stone are not so easily disposed of. In all ages such fragments have been made use of as building materials, and have in the course of time been gradually brought to light. Bath, Gloucester, Cirencester, and other places can witness; yet their entire absence in London convinces me that Roman London was a brick city, and, in the words of Tacitus, "a place not dignified with the name of colony, but the chief residence of merchants."[a] As a further confirmation of this opinion, the great difficulty of procuring good workable stone at that time must not be forgotten. At Bath the oolite was at hand, and also generally northwards there were equally abundant materials; but for London the same deficiency existed then as now. I know of no stone available for building purposes nearer than the oolites of Wiltshire; and

[a] Cognomento quidem coloniæ non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maximè celebre.—Annalium, lib xiv. sect. 33.

in the Roman walls no stone is found but the Kentish rag-stone. The expression of this opinion may I fear give offence, and expose me to reproach from those who are disposed to attribute (unjustly as I think) the absence of Roman remains in our London museums to recklessness or carelessness on the part of architects and City authorities; but an experience of nearly forty years in London has satisfied me that they are not to be found in any great abundance, and their absence has induced me therefore to support the hypothesis that they never had any existence.

It now only remains for me to add, that the design or pattern of this pavement is elegant, and differs in detail from others; but in principle and in material it resembles most of the Romano-British pavements. The nearest resemblance to it which has occurred to me is an example published by Hearne, found at Stunsfield, two miles from Woodstock,[a] in which there is a group in the centre, somewhat resembling the figures in the middle compartment of that at the Excise Office. It is represented in a very careful and elaborate engraving executed in 1712 by Michael Burghers; but I am inclined to think that the descriptive text by Hearne mistakes the central figure in supposing it to be Apollo, since it should certainly rather be regarded as "the young Bacchus" (the Egyptian, or beardless Bacchus), crowned with vine-leaves, and holding horizontally in his right hand an empty cyathus, and in his left the thyrsus upright.[b] The animal in the background is there indisputably "a tiger, as," Hearne says, "some have conjectured; taking the hint, I suppose, partly from Baron Spanheim." Hearne himself, however, was inclined to think that it was intended for "the gryffin, as he is represented on some pieces of antiquity; only the wings are designedly left out, to signify that the artist did not intend that animal, which was looked upon as real, as I have lately observed."[c]

But without any regard as to the possibility of this figure being a griffin destitute of wings, not only the human effigy represented with the animal and all its accessories seem to prove it to be Bacchus (*Dionysus*) and his tiger, but the very pavement now found at the Excise Office, with the effigy of Ariadne and her panther, seems to corroborate the truth of the interpretation. Dionysus was attached to others; but his best beloved, whose bridal-wreath he placed in the

[a] The tessellated pavement here referred to was found at Stunsfield (Stonesfield), co. Oxford, Jan. 25th, 1711-12. Hearne's Leland's Itinerary, vol. viii., at the commencement.

[b] It is worthy of observation that this subject almost precisely agrees with the figure forming the centre of the fine tessellated pavement found near the eastern extremity of the India House, in December, 1803, published and described by the late Thomas Fisher.

[c] "A Discourse concerning the Stunsfield Pavement." Hearne's Leland's Itinerary, vol. viii. sect. v. p. 17.

skies as a constellation,[a] was Ariadne. Each of these figures, then, became the emblems of conviviality, and were well adapted for the central ornament of the mosaic floor of a British *tablinum*, or rather *triclinium*, taking that term as generically expressive of a dining-room.[b] As the figure of Ariadne in the Excise Office pavement was upright when seen from the north-east, the couches of the *triclinium*, and the table inclosed by them, probably looked towards the west, and the garden of the edifice would perhaps thus be situated behind towards Bishopsgate, or nearer to the extremity of Roman London.

The pavement was taken up with great care by Mr. Minton, under the direction of Owen Jones, Esq. and has been removed to the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, where he intends to restore it completely, and place it in the centre of the nave.[c] By the judicious means taken by Mr. Clifton, the resident architect, and Mr. Jones, I believe that not a single fragment of it has been lost.

Before I conclude this short and I fear imperfect account of this interesting remain, I beg to add my thanks to Mr. Clifton for the care and skill with which he followed out every indication I have alluded to, and for his kindness and attention in adopting every suggestion I made to him.

I am, my dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM TITE.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the discussion that followed the reading of the preceding paper, some exceptions appeared to be taken to the opinion given by me, that London was not so important a city in the time of the Romans as its present greatness induces us to imagine; and that it was then far inferior to York. Tacitus distinctly states, in

[a] Bacchus amat Flores: Baccho placuisse coronam
Ex Ariadnæo sidere nosse potes.
Ovid. Fast. v. 345.

[b] The festive character of the apartment to which the tessellated pavement found in Leadenhall Street originally belonged, was further indicated by the figures of drinking-cups being introduced in the ornamental border.

[c] Owing to the space required, this has not yet been done. but I still trust to the realisation of this expectation and promise.

A.D. 61, that it was not a colony, but an undefended British town without walls. It was also declared at the meeting, that, if the Latin authorities could be referred to, it could easily be shown that I was mistaken. I knew this to be otherwise; but, as it was impossible then to give the quotations, I have now thought it convenient to add all those which I am aware exist on the subject. For though the few contemporaneous notices now extant concerning Roman London have been repeatedly collected and printed, especially by Burton in his Commentary on the Itinerary of Antoninus, yet such an apparatus, for the reasons here stated, seems to be required as an indispensable part of the present paper. The following extracts are, therefore, added to supply the reader with the most convenient means of referring to such ancient records of Londinium as are still in existence :—

Taciti *Annalium* lib. xiv. c. 33.

"At Suetonius mirâ constantiâ medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniæ non insigne, sed copiâ negotiatorum et commeatuum maximè celebre: ibi ambiguus, an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspectâ infrequentiâ militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petilii cöercitam, unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit. Neque fletu et lacrymis auxilium ejus orantium flexus est, quin daret profectionis signum et comitantes in partem agminis acciperet. Si quos imbellis sexus, aut fessa ætas, vel loci dulcedo attinuerat, ab hoste oppressi sunt. Eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit; quia barbari, omissis castellis præsidiisque militarium, quod uberrimum spolianti, et defendentibus intutum, læti prædâ, et aliorum segnes petebant."

Burton observes on this passage, that "here the name of London, as said, is first to be found in any antient authentick writing; and that for the calamity's sake, which at this time it suffered most extream."—*Commentary on Antoninus' Itinerary*, p. 155. Londinium is not mentioned by Cæsar, probably because his line of march led him in a different direction.

Ammiani Marcellini *Rerum Gestarum* lib. xx. c. 1.

"*Lupicinus Magister armorum adversus Scotorum et Pictorum incursiones in Brittannias cum exercitu mittitur.*" (A.D. 360.)

"Adulta hieme Dux antedictus Bononiam venit, quæsitisque navigiis, et omni imposito milite, observato flatu secundo ventorum, ad Rutupias sitas ex adverso defertur, petitque Lundinium: ut exinde suscepto pro rei qualitate consilio, festinaret ociùs ad procinctum."

Idem, lib. xxvii. c. 8 (A.D. 368).

"Egressus tendensque ad Lundinium vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavit, divisis plurifariam globis, adortus est vagantes hostium vastatorias manus, graves onere sarcinarum; et properè fusis qui vinctos homines agebant et pecora, prædam excussit, quam tributarii perdidere miserrimi."

Idem, lib. xxviii. c. 3 (A.D. 369).

"Theodosius verò dux nominis inclyti, animo vigore collecto ab Augusta profectus, quam veteres appellavere Lundinium, cum milite industria comparato sollerti, versis turbatisque Britannorum fortunis opem maximam tulit."

Eumenii *Panegyricus Constantino Cæsari*, c. xvii.

"Enimvero, Cæsar invicte, tanto Deorum immortalium tibi est addicta consensu omnium quidem, quos adortus fueris, hostium, sed præcipue internecio Francorum, ut illi quoque milites vestri, qui per errorem nebulosi, ut paulo ante dixi, maris abjuncti, ad oppidum Londiniense pervenerant, quicquid ex mercenaria illa multitudine barbarorum prælio superfuerat, cum, direpta civitate, fugam capessere cogitarent, passim tota urbe confecerint; et non solam provincialibus vestris in cæde hostium dederint salutem, sed etiam in spectaculo voluptatem."

For the passage of Ptolemy, in which the mention of Londinium occurs, see Mr. Arthur Taylor's Memoir "On the original site of Roman London," Archæol. vol. xxxiii. p. 101, note, accompanied by an examination of the circumstances and of the probable Site suggested.

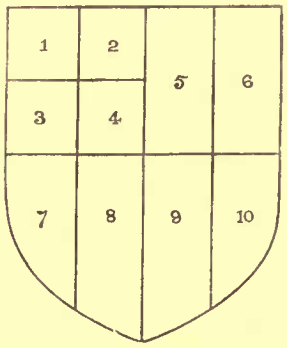
XXI. *Notice of a Stall-plate of Sir William Parr, K.G., Marquis of Northampton. By* Augustus W. Franks, *Esq., F.S.A, in a Letter to* Sir Henry Ellis, *K.H., F.R.S., Director.*

Read February 1, 1855.

Dear Sir Henry,

At your suggestion, I have lately obtained for the British Museum an object of some interest, which has proved to be the Stall-plate of Sir William Parr, K.G., Marquis of Northampton, and brother to Queen Katherine Parr.

It is a quadrangular plate of copper, gilt and enamelled, on which are engraved the arms of Parr with their quarterings. The arrangement of them will be seen in the annexed diagram; they are as follows:—1. Arg. two bars az. within a bordure engrailed sa.; *Parr*. 2. Or, three waterbougets sa.; *Roos of Kendal*. 3. Az. three stags trippant or; *Greene of Greens Norton*. 4. Gu. a chevron between three crosses crosslet, in chief a lion passant gardant or; *Mablethorpe*. 5. Az. three chevronels braced in base and a chief or; *Fitz Hugh*. 6. Vair, a fess gu.; *Marmyon*. 7. Or, three chevronels gu. a chief vair; *St. Quentyn*. 8. Gu. a bend between six crosses crosslet or; *Forneux*. 9. Barry arg. and gu. a fleur-de-lis sa.; *Staveley*. 10. Barry or and az. an eagle displayed gu.; *Garnegan*.



These quarterings are not arranged in the manner which the rules of heraldry prescribed, nor in the order of time in which they were acquired by the Parr family. The quartering of Roos was an old one, having been the result of a marriage in the reign of Richard II.; those of Greene and Mablethorpe came through Sir William Parr's mother; while the remainder were acquired by the marriage of Sir William's grandfather with Elizabeth, one of the co-heirs of Fitz Hugh. The quarterings might, with more propriety, have been arranged as follows:—Parr, Roos, Fitz Hugh, Staveley, Forneux, Marmyon, Garnegan, St. Quentyn, Greene, and Mablethorpe; in which order we find them placed by Sir William Segar in his MS. Arms of the Knights of the Garter[a] (MS. Geo. III. 408).

[a] Though thus arranged by him under Queen Elizabeth, they are given in the same work under Henry VIII. in the following order:—Parr, Greene, Mablethorpe, Roos, Fitz Hugh, Marmyon, St. Quentyn, and Staveley; a still more erroneous arrangement than in the Garter-plate under notice.

The shield is surrounded by the garter, and ensigned with a helmet of six bars and a crest. The latter is a maiden vested az., couped below the shoulders, crowned, and having a chaplet of flowers, probably daisies, about her neck. This crest, which formed part of the badge of Queen Katherine Parr, is said to have been derived by the Parr family from Roos of Kendal, their former crest having been a bunch of daisies. The dexter supporter is a stag, or; the sinister a wyvern azure. At the top of the plate is the motto "AMOUR . AVECQUE . LOIAULTE," and the following words, "FUST . ENSTALLE . 18 . IURE . DE MAY . LANDU · REING . N'RE . SOVVERAIN . SEIGNEUR . LE ROY . HENRY . 8 · 36·" Below the arms is the following inscription :—

FULL SIZE.

DV . TRESNOBLE . HAVLT . ET . TRESPVISSANT . PRINCE . GVILLMI . M
ARQVYS . DE . NORTHAMPTON . CONTE . DESSEX . BARON .
DE . KENDAL . SEIGR . DE . MARMYON . SAINT . QVYNTYN
ET . DV . PARRE . CHL'R . DE . LORDRE . DE . LA . IARRITIE
RE . GRANT . CHAMBERLEYN . DANGLETERRE . ET .
CAPITANIE . DES . GENTILZ . HOMINES . PENCION
AIRES . DE . LA . MAISON . DV . ROY . NR'E . SOVERE
YN . SEIGR' . ET . CONNESTABLE . DV. CHASTEAN .
DE . WYNDESOR.

ANNO . DNI . 1552.

In the above description of the arms the tinctures have been supplied from other sources, for, in consequence of the plate having been broken across the middle with much unnecessary violence, the colours near the fracture, including those on the shield, are nearly destroyed, while the gilding and some of the enamelled portions of the mantlings and supporters retain their original brilliancy. The plate is 10 inches high and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide.

Sir William Parr was the only son of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal, in Westmerland, by his wife Maud,[a] one of the two daughters and co-heirs of Sir Thomas Greene of Greens Norton. He was one of the esquires of the body to Henry VIII., and attended on that monarch at the Field of Cloth of Gold. In the

[a] Some curious correspondence between this lady, Lord Dacre, and Lord Scrope may be found in Whitaker's Richmondshire, vol. i. p. 387. It relates to a treaty of marriage between Katherine Parr and Lord Scrope's son, in which she shewed herself worthy of the encomium passed upon her by Lord Dacre—"the wisdome of my seid lady (Parr) and the god wise stok of the Grenes, whereof she is comen." Some notices of the Parr family may be found in the Topographer and Genealogist, vol. iii. p. 352.

thirtieth year of Henry VIII. he was created Baron Parr of Kendal, and, on the approaching alliance of the king with his sister Katherine, he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and created Earl of Essex. The latter dignity he obtained on account of his union with Anne, only daughter and heiress of Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, notwithstanding that his marriage with that lady had been dissolved by Act of Parliament, and the children by her had been bastardised. He was appointed one of the executors of the will of Henry VIII.; and, on the accession of Edward VI. was advanced to the Marquisate of Northampton. In the fourth year of Edward VI. he was made Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and he sat as one of the judges on the trial of the Protector Somerset. On the death of the king, he espoused the party of Lady Jane Grey, and was in consequence committed to the Tower of London, tried for treason, and attainted. More fortunate than his fellow-sufferer, the Duke of Northumberland, he escaped execution, and, before the end of the first year of Mary, was restored in blood, but not in honours. On the accession of Elizabeth, he was reinstated in all his titles, and made one of the Lords of the Privy Council. He died in 1571, and was buried at Warwick, leaving no issue by his second or third wife; and, in consequence of the children of his first wife having been bastardised as above mentioned, his various honours expired with him.

I may here notice some particulars in reference to Sir William Parr's connection with the Order of the Garter. According to the inscription upon the stall-plate, it would appear that he was installed on the 18th of May, in the thirty-sixth year of Henry VIII.; but, on referring to the register of the Order,[a] we find him elected on the 23rd of April in the previous year, and installed on the 27th of the same month. His installation, moreover, on that day is specially mentioned, as it was done expressly by the king's desire, on account of his being obliged to proceed to the North on the king's business, which prevented his being installed at the usual time. He subsequently, on Christmas Eve in the same year, gave his vote at one of the chapters of the Order; and, at the installation on the 18th of May, 1552 (the date of his own installation on the plate), he acted as the king's deputy, being then Earl of Essex.[b]

I cannot account for this discrepancy, otherwise than by supposing it to have been occasioned by the mistake of the herald who designed the plate, which was, no doubt, put up in 1552, the date at the end of the inscription, and nine years after his installation. This delay does not appear to have been singular, as

[a] Anstis, vol. i. p. 426.

[b] Anstis, vol. i. p. 432.

an enactment was made by Henry VIII., requiring greater regularity in the matter. It is also possible that the new plate may have originated in a wish on the part of the Marquis to set forth the higher offices and dignities to which he had attained.

In the year 1553 he was, as we have seen, attainted, when his degradation from the Order necessarily followed.

On Elizabeth's accession a special clause was inserted in the Rules of the Garter for Sir William Parr's benefit, which rendered eligible any person, being of gentle or noble family, who, having been convicted of treason, had been pardoned and restored in blood. In the first year of Elizabeth he was re-elected, and a new stall-plate was set up, which is mentioned in Pote's History of Windsor (p. 296) as in the fourteenth stall, and is, no doubt, still in existence. It appears to differ from the one under notice in some few particulars, especially in the more orderly arrangement of the quarterings. The crest and supporters are the same, with the exception of the dress of the maiden, which is ermine instead of azure.[a] The inscription, as given by Pote, is as follows :—

"Du tres noble, hault et tres puissant prince Guillm marquys de Northampton, conte d' Essex, baron de Kendall, seigneur de Marmion, Saint Quintyn, et du Parre, chl'r du tres noble ordre de la jarretiere, fust installé 3 joyr de June, 1559."

It has been mentioned that the plate has been broken across the middle with much unnecessary violence. The fracture evidently is not recent; and the state of the plate, and also its removal from St. George's Chapel, may probably be satisfactorily accounted for as a consequence of Sir William Parr's degradation from the Order.

We have no particular account of the proceedings in his case, which, no doubt, were similar to those on other occasions of the same kind. The usual course appears to have been this: A chapter of the Order having been held, in which it was determined that the knight should be degraded, he was arrested, and the collar and garter taken from him. This done, the statute of Edward VI. provides, "After that Garter the kyng of armes hath declared openly his ofence, being treason or heresy, at Windesor, accordyng to the accoustumed maner, one of the herauldes of armes shall throw downe his hatchements hanging over his seate there, and contemptuously sporne them with his fete (as he may) owt of the chapell, by which facte he shal be taken ever afterwardes for a Person degraded, and quyte depryved of this order."

[a] Harl. MSS. 332 and 1447.

An instrument declaring the knight to be degraded is given by Ashmole,[a] who states that they usually ran in the same form. It was read by Garter, standing on the steps of the choir; and when he came to the words, "be degraded of the said Noble Order, and his Arms, Ensigns, and Atchievements expelled from among the Arms, Ensigns, and Atchievements of the other knights of the said order," a herald, previously stationed on a ladder at the back of the convict knight's stall, took the crest and cast it down into the choir, and after that the banner and sword; and when the reading was finished, all the officers of arms kicked the achievements "out of the choir into the body of the church—first the sword, then the banner, and last of all the crest, so out of the west door, thence to the bridge, and over into the ditch."[b] The amount of indignity offered to the achievements appears to have varied in different cases, according to the king's pleasure.

No express mention is made in this account of the stall-plate; it, no doubt, was comprehended under the "arms, ensigns, and achievements;" but would have to be removed with care, so as not to injure the wood-work of the stalls; after which, it might be reasonably expected that it would be broken in pieces as an act of destruction, the heraldic insignia surrounded by the garter being no longer a truthful representation of the *status* of the degraded knight.

I trust that you will not consider the subject of this memoir unworthy of the notice of the Society, not only from its relation to the family of one of the Queens of England, but also as illustrative of the vicissitudes to which eminent men were exposed during the reigns of the sovereigns of the House of Tudor.

Yours faithfully,

British Museum, Jan. 31, 1855. AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS.

[a] App. No. 184.

[b] Ashmole, p. 621.